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The Life and Living in the Rural Karnatak

(with reference to Gokak Taluka)

BY

Dr. Madhukar N. Desai, Ph.D.

1945

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DEDICATED TO

Mr. Vithal A. Hodke

and

Mrs. Savitribai V. Hodke,
of Sirsi

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I am very glad that I have succeeded in publishing the book at least 3 years after its writing. I have tried to bring the book upto date by adding a chapter at the end on *the effects of war on the rural life*. I am extremely grateful to Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Ph. D. of the Bombay University without whose guidance encouragement, and sympathy I could not have completed the work. For want of space it is not possible to give the names of all the persons who helped me to collect the data, but I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the name of Dr. G. R. Kadalagikar of Gokak. Thanks are also due to Profs. S. C. Puranik and Gajendragadkar of H. P. T. College, Nasik, Prof. R. S. Mugli of Willingdon College, Sangli and Prof. S. N. Naik of the Sholapur College for their valuable suggestions. I must also thank Mr. V. H. Barve, the Manager of the Aryabhushan and Dnyanprakash Press and Mr. V. A. Patwardhan, the Asst. Manager for having completed the printing inspite of war-time difficulties. Mr. Anand Desai of the Anand Publishers, Sirsi also owes my thanks. Thanks are due to Mrs. Suman Desai for having helped me in the correction of the proofs. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grants-in-aid received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this book.

Nasik
20-3-1945.

M. N. DESAI

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Introductory

It was the object of the author to study the rural conditions in the Bombay Karnatak. According to the definition¹ given in the Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Presidency (1925), this Province embraces the three districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar, the large Indian State of Kolhapur and a few others. It is significant to note that the district of North Kanara though included in the Bombay Karnatak administratively and linguistically, geographically it is classed in the Konkan. Leaving out the state-owned territory, the British Bombay Karnatak can be said to consist of three districts, namely Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar. As the study of Karnatak culture was in view, the state-owned territory had to be left out as the people occupying it are primarily under the domination of Maharashtrian culture. The three districts so chosen are made up of 33 Talukas and Mahals which have the following characteristics :—

(a) 59 p. c.² of the total area is completely liable to famine, 19 p. c. is less liable and 22 p. c. completely safe from famine. Out of the 33 Talukas of the three districts only five are completely safe ; 11 are less liable to famine ; and 17 are very liable to famine.

(b) *Rainfall* :—11 Talukas have more than 27" of rainfall on an average ; 19 Talukas have a rainfall ranging from 22-26" ; 3 Talukas have less than 22".

(c) *Irrigation* :—2.4 p. c. of the net cropped area is irrigated.

(d) Area under important crops in percentage to the net cropped area :—

Name of the Crop	p. c.
(i) Jawar	35.7
(ii) Cotton	14
(iii) Wheat	9
(iv) Bajri	4

1 Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Presidency p. 1.

2 All the statistics given in this chapter have been taken from the Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Presidency (1925).

- (e) Assessment per acre :—Rs. 1-1-0.
- (f) Density of population :—187 per square mile.
- (g) Important small scale industries :—
 - (i) Weaving, (ii) Ginning.
- (h) Language spoken :—Kannada is spoken by 80 p. c. of the people in Dharwar district, 65 p. c. in Belgaum district and 81 p. c. in Bijapur district.
- (i) Major Castes :—The Lingayats, the Kurubars, the Kabbalgers, the Uppars, the Berads, the Chchatris, and the Deshastha-Brahmins.

How was Gokak Taluka selected ?

The next important task was the selection of a representative Taluka for intensive study. To do this, a list of all the Taluka was made and a system of elimination was resorted to. The Talukas of Ron, Mundargi, Sampagoan and Parasgad with all the Talukas of the Bijapur district were eliminated as they are very liable to famine. The Talukas of Belgaum, Hubli, Bijapur, Dharwar and Gadag were ruled out of consideration as they represent the urban areas. The Talukas of Chandagad and Khanapur lie in the heavy rainfall belt and are inhabited by Marathi speaking cultivators. Kalghatgi Taluka and Hirekerur Taluka have heavy rainfall and grow mostly rice and ragi. The Hangal Taluka has a net work of irrigation works. Navalgund Taluka grows more of wheat only, Chikkodi more of tobacco and Karjagi more of cotton. The Hukkeri and Bankapur grow very small quantities of cotton. Athani Taluka has a scarce population and the soil is poor.

Thus one by one the Talukas were eliminated till Gokak alone remained. On close study it was found that it is the only Taluka which represents Karnatak to a greater degree than any other.

Why Gokak is the representative Taluka ?

Gokak is not completely liable to famine ; nearly 75 p. c. of the area is less liable to famine and 25 p. c. completely safe. Average rainfall for the Taluka is 24.37" and the area

irrigated is about 4 p. c. 39 p. c. of the net cropped area of the Taluka is under jowar ; 11 p. c. under cotton ; 6.6 p. c. under wheat and 11 p. c. under bajri. The assessment per acre in the Taluka is 0-11-2 on an average. The density of population is 192 per square mile. The Taluka is rural and the main occupation is agriculture. Weaving and ginning industries are obtained in the Taluka. Though there is a mill at one corner of the Taluka, industrialization has not gone so far as to establish slums. The labour of this mill is largely drawn from the neighbouring villages. The language spoken is Kannada and all the important Karnatak castes are found in the Taluka.

Selection of Villages

How and why the Gokak Taluka was selected is thus explained. But the Taluka with nearly 30000 houses was too big a unit for the study of family budgets. So it was decided to study only 20 villages (i. e. one in five villages) and then to select one house from every four of the total number of houses of each village.

In the selection of 20 villages the author wanted to use one of the following three methods of random selection which are commonly used by students of social surveys :—

- (i) To arrange all the villages in the alphabetical order and marking out every fifth one.
- (ii) To take the list containing the names of villages according to survey groups and marking out every fifth one.
- (iii) To prepare 120 cards, each containing the name of a village and then to pick 20 cards at random.

All these methods are supposed to give the same results theoretically. But in all fairness to these methods and their advocates, it is to be admitted that each of these methods can assure us of a representatives selection only when the sample is very large. These are of no practical use when the sample is very small. This conclusion was arrived at the author when he selected 20 villages by the third method given above. Most of the villages that were selected in this way were found to belong to one region only.

Instead of making the selection by such methods, it was deemed necessary to hold consultations with the people who were acquainted with the Taluka and then to select a group of 20 villages the characteristics of which in the aggregate represent those of the Taluka. The villages under study have been chosen in this way and they are fairly representative.

Four of the villages so selected had a hamlet each. Though a hamlet is only an administrative sub-division of a village, it is taken as a unit for separate study, as it is usually found differing from the major village in many respects. Thus the number of villages under study has come to 24.

Family Budget Schedule.

No.	Occupation.....		
Name of the village.....region.....Caste.....			
1.	Name of the head of the family.....		
2.	Members in the family with their age, civil condition and education	Males..... Females.....	
3.	Wealth in (i) <i>lands</i> (ii) <i>House</i>		
	(a) area	(b) kind of the soil	(c) value

		(iii) Live stock.....	
		(iv) Utensils.....	
		(v) Savings.....	
		(vi) Rest.....	
4.	Income from	i Land (gross income)	Revenue paid
	
			Rent paid
			amount area rented
		
		Irrigation cess	Manure
	
			Net income from lands.
		
	ii Rent received	iii Casual labour	iv Trade

5. Expenditure on

i Staple corn	ii Bazar expenses	
.....	
iii Dairy products	iv Meat	v Stimulants
.....
vi Intoxicants	vii Clothes	viii Interest
.....
ix Miscellaneous		

- | 6. Indebtedness | i amount | ii object of loan | iii Rate of interest |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
|  | ..... | No. 1..... | |
| | | No. 2..... | ..... |
| | | No. 3..... | |
| | iv No. of years the interest is paid. | | v Is interest still paid ? |

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--|
| 7. Description and
number of live
stock. | } | i Cows | ii Oxen | iii She.-buffaloes | |
| | | | | | |
| | | iv He.-buffaloes | v Calves | vi Sheep | |
| | | | | | |
| | | vii Goats | viii Cocks and hens | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | ix Miscellaneous. | | | |

1. The present age of the woman.....
2. Age at marriage (a) of the wife.....
(b) of the husband.....

3. Male children { (a) total born.....
(b) total living.....
4. Female children { (a) total born.....
(b) total dead.....
5. Births in 1938.....
1939.....
1940.....

Statement showing the distribution of Schedules according to classes.

Economic class.	No. of families studied.	Economic sub-class or region.
I Cultivating owners.	386	(i) of the irrigated region 162 (ii) of the non-irrigated „ 224
II Cultivating tenants.	225	(i) of the irrigated region 89 (ii) of the non-irrigated „ 136
III Labourers	329	(i) of poor region 103 (ii) irrigated region 139 (iii) the rest 87
IV Traders	92	
V Artisans	181	(i) weavers 35 (ii) goldsmiths 39 (iii) Korvar and vaddar 44 (iv) Artisans receiving dues 63
VI Servants	131	(i) Menial servants 52 (ii) Superior servants 43 (iii) Mill workers 36
VII Harijans	166	(i) Mill workers 29 (ii) Rest 137
VIII The 'rest'	82	(i) Priests 33 (ii) Das people 11 (iii) Shepherds, 18 (iv) Miscellaneous 20

Total number of families studied 1592.

**Statement showing prices of some important commodities
on 1-6-1940, 1-1-1940 and 1-6-1939.**

Name of the commodity	Unit	1-6-1940	1-1-1940	1-6-1939
Jowar ...	Per rupee	14 srs. (of 80 tolas each)	19 srs.	18 srs.
Bajri ...	„ „	15 srs.	16 srs.	16 srs.
Wheat ...	„ „	13 srs.	16 srs.	14 srs.
Gram ...	„ „	10 srs.	11 srs.	12 srs.
Rice (inferior variety) ...	„ „	8 srs.	9½ srs.	9 srs.
Maize ...	„ „	16 srs.	22 srs.	22 srs.
Horse gram ...	„ „	17 srs.	18 srs.	13 srs.
Green gram ...	„ „	16 srs.	16 srs.	16 srs.
Peas ...	„ „	19 srs.	20 srs.	19 srs.
Beans ...	„ „	15 srs.	16 srs.	15 srs.
Coriander ...	„ „		10 srs.	
Safflower ...	„ „	20 srs.	15 srs.	
Navni ...	„ „	18 srs.	18 srs.	20 srs.
		Rupees	Rupees	Rupees
Cotton ...	Per maund of 56 srs. (1 sr.=20 tolas)	1-10-0	2-10-0	2-0-0
Raw sugar ...	Per 'Her' of 8 mds.	9-0-0	14-0-0	18-0-0
Chilly ...	Per 'Vajje' of 8 mds.	26-0-0	26-0-0	28-0-0
Ground-nuts ...	A maund	1-6-0	1-4-0	1-8-0
Onions ...	A bag of 6 mds.	1-8-0	2-4-0	2-8-0

To study family budgets, Schedules :— [a copy of which is enclosed] —was prepared and it was decided to approach one out of every four families to get the schedules filled up. But the method of visiting every fourth house could not be followed with scientific precision for the obvious practical difficulties involved. Inexorable adherence to such a method creates suspicion in the mind of the villages who cannot understand why the fourth house alone is visited leaving three in the middle. The result is, he is afraid of giving the requisite information and if pressed for he gives it wrong. Bitter experience led the author to modify this method in the following way so as to suit the rural areas under study. In Gokak Taluka the village is divided into many quarters each occupied by persons most of whom belong to the same caste and follow more or less the same occupation. The leaders of one locality were first taken into confidence and then they were requested to take the author to any of the families that they choose. When the author had filled up the required number of schedules (i. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total number of families of the locality) he passed on to another locality. No doubt, this procedure imports an arbitrary element ; but it cannot be said that it affects to a large degree the representative character of the sample.

The method used in filling up the schedule and the meaning and import of the terms contained in it are explained at proper places in the book. The total number of schedules filled up came to 1592 and their distribution according to economic classes or natural regions is enclosed.

Explanatory notes on economic classes are included in the chapter on rural population and those on regions in the chapter on ' the regional back ground. ' The information contained in the schedules is tabulated into a series of tables appended to the book and is analysed and interpreted in different chapters. Sub-tables of the tables for each of the economic classes were also prepared but they could not be included in the book on account of the prohibitive cost of printing.

Period of Study :—The study in the field covers the period of 1-4-39 to 1-10-41. The filling up of the schedules was done during the period of January 1940 to July 1940.

The Prices :—The prices of important commodities ruling during the period of study are given elsewhere. The prices prevailing as on 1-1-1940 are taken as a basis for calculations in the study of family budgets.

The data and the area from which they are collected :—The data for presenting rural wealth, income, expenditure and indebtedness are taken from 1592 schedules of family budgets. The fertility survey included in "the rural population" is based on the information collected from the members of the families who are under study pertaining family budgets. Information about rural consumption is gathered from a study of a few typical families of a village for 3 months. The other sources of information are indicated at their respective places in the book. Information about folk-songs, divorce cases, endogamy, and exogamy was collected by a short tour in Karnatak. The material about the sex-life, religious life, sanitation, education, marriage customs, and economic survey is mainly drawn from Gokak Taluka. The bibliography showing the books, records, and reports availed of in the preparation of this book is appended.

CHAPTER I

The Regional Background

Introductory :—The families whose economic conditions are studied in this book belong to Gokak Taluka and it will not be possible to have a complete idea about their life and living unless the economic and natural environment of these families is known. For this purpose a survey of Gokak Taluka is given in this chapter to serve as a back-ground to the study of family budgets contained in subsequent chapters.

(A) The natural environment.

(i) Physical description of the Gokak Taluka.

Geographic Position :—Gokak is a Taluka in the Belgaum district lying to the North-West of the Belgaum Taluka. It is bound by the Mudhol state on the North-East; by the Kolhapur and Kurundwad states on the North-West; by Athani Taluka on its immediate North; by the Hukkeri Taluka on the West; and by the Parasgad and the Sampagoan Talukas on the South.

Cantour :—The surface of the taluka is no where regular : The whole of the eastern part of the taluka is a vast plain. Everywhere in the taluka belts of high ground with scanty vegetation alternate with low lands yielding bumper crops.

Geology :—A great series of pebbly and gritty quartzose are found at Gokak. In the eastern part of the taluka there are lime-stones.

Minerals :—"Iron, nearly equal to Swedish iron was formerly made at Tavag and Kaitnal. The ore is generally peroxide of iron with a mixture of clay, quartz and lime." Quartzose sand-stone is found near Sutgati in the valley of the Ghataprabha at Gokak. At Yadvad a bed of bluish-gray limestone is quarried for lime.

Soils :—Soils of the taluka can be divided into the following main classes.

(i) **Eri or the black soil** :—"Black soil is the result of the weathering of trap-rocks." ¹ It is less sticky and is more pervious to water. It is best suited for the cultivation of cotton. Cereals also grow well in it. This soil is spread over the whole of Yadwado circle and over the area that is to the East of Gokak.

(ii) **Kamperi or Hulak-eri or the Reddish black soil** :—This soil is very pervious to water and is considered the best soil. All kinds of cereals, cotton, tobacco and all the irrigated crops from the sugarcane to the tubers can be grown in this soil. Patches of this soil can be found all over the taluka.

(iii) **The Masari or the red soil** :—"Red soils are the result of the decomposition of iron bearing rocks." ² These soils are very porous and so only groundnuts, bajri, and other millets can be grown in them. With irrigation facilities some tubers can also be cultivated. This soil can be met with everywhere. In some places like Makkalgeri and Madwal it covers the whole area of the village.

(iv) **Karl or the stiff clay soil** :—This soil contains larger percentage of salts (sodium chlorides and biacarbonate). Wheat grows well in this soil. This soil is found in the south-eastern part of the Taluka.

(v) **Revi or sandy soil** :—Sandy soils are very porous and crops cannot be raised in them without good manure. Ordinary dry crops can be grown only where there is heavy rainfall. These soils form a prominent feature of the hilly tracts.

(vi) **Vandu or the brown soil** :—This soil is very fertile and is unevenly distributed over the Taluka.

Rivers :—The Ghataprabha and the Markandeya are the only two important rivers that flow in the Taluka.

Irrigation Works :—The most important protective irrigation work of the Taluka is the Gokak Canal which waters an area of 9291 acres (in 1939-40) in 14 villages. " The system consists of masonry weir across the Ghataprabha river at Dhupdal (village about 10 miles from Gokak) and a short-

¹ Page 38 District gazetteer of Belgaum.

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main canal of four miles in length taking from the reservoir formed by the weir. The main canal has a branch twelve miles long and distributaries about 35 miles." ¹

Rainfall:—The total rainfall varies from year to year. Again the rainfall in the same season for successive years is never the same. The khariff and the rabi monsoons baffle all expectations and agriculture is thus reduced to a gamble in rains.

TABLE No. 1

Statement showing the distribution of rainfall in inches according to months for some years

Month	Years						
	1876 (Minimum record)	1916 (Maximum record)	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936
January	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
February	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
March	.03	...	...	.20	1.30	.60	...
April	.56	1.28	4.50	2.0	.20	1.60	...
May	.56	7.04	3.30	1.70	2.10	.80	2.54
June	2.18	3.79	2.81	3.50	1.40	1.40	2.90
July	2.57	5.01	1.70	4.7	1.60	2.10	.80
August	.47	1.86	2.10	3.7	4.80	.40	6.30
September	.57	3.91	1.80	1.6	6.30	2.90	5.14
October	...	6.78	4.73	2.89	1.60	6.30	5.60
November	.05	8.04	2.70	1.20	.10	...	2.30
December	...	...	.30	...	...	...	...
Total for the year	6.99	37.71	23.94	21.49	19.40	16.10	25.58

¹ Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Presidency 1925 p. 115.

TABLE NO. 2

**Statement showing distribution of rainfall in inches
according to seasons for some years**

Year	Early rain (Jan.- March)	Ante- Monsoon (April- May.)	Monsoon Khariff (June- July)	Monsoon Rabi (Aug.- Sept.)	Late rains (Nov. Dec.)	T O T A L
1936	...	2.54	3.7	17.04	2.3	25.58
1937	.6	2.4	3.5	9.6	...	16.1
1938	1.3	2.3	3.0	12.07	.1	19.4
1939	.2	3.7	8.2	8.19	1.2	21.49
1940	...	7.8	4.51	8.63	3.0	23.94

The rainfall given in the statements has been taken from the rainfall records of the Gokak town. Hence these figures should not be taken as representing the rainfall of the whole Taluka. In the south-western parts of the Taluka the rainfall is considerably greater, probably ranging between 30-35." The presence of the tiled and sloping roofs, with eaves speaks of the heavy rainfall. On the other hand the highlands of Tukkanati and the plains of Kulagod circle receive definitely a lesser amount. These tracts are frequently visited by draughts. In the Kulagod circle within a short period of 12 years (1901-1911) six bad season have been recorded.¹

Temperature :—Temperature readings² of the last five years show that the temperature is high in summer and low in winter. Gokak has very hot summers. Temperature rises to 108°F when there are no early showers in April regularly distributed over the month. At Gokak proper, the heat is more severe on account of the Panchami Hills lying in its vicinity ; March, April and May are too hot for hard work. In winter the temperature is as low as 64°F (1939). At any rate cold in winter, cannot be said as very severe. Warm and exhilarating climate prevails in the rainy season.

¹ Second Survey Settlement Report pp. 12.

² Vide statement No. 3.

(ii) Flora.

A. Shrubs :—Due to scanty rainfall vegetation on the whole is very poor, Shrubs of a few kind grow here and there. Most of these are thorny bushes and are not taller than a foot

No. 3—Statement showing monthly temperature records of Gokak town for some years.

Month	Years				
	1939	1940	1936	1937	1938
	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F
Jan. Minimum	67	71	71	66	72
Maximum	90	89	90	92	98
Feb. Minimum	77	74	69	75	74
Maximum	99	100	94	97	99
March Minimum	80	78	79	80	80
Maximum	103	104	102	102	104
April Minimum	85	81	84	82	84
Maximum	106	106	104	102	107
May Minimum	84	84	81	85	82
Maximum	107	104	106	108	107
June Minimum	72	81	73	77	79
Maximum	101	97	98	103	89
July Minimum	77	78	78	77	77
Maximum	88	85	88	90	94
August Minimum	76	80	76	77	78
Maximum	94	91	93	91	96
Sept. Minimum	78	80	79	78	78
Maximum	92	92	95	91	93
Octo. Minimum	79	76	79	78	79
Maximum	96	93	95	92	95
Nov. Minimum	68	82	74	74	73
Maximum	91	90	91	93	92
Dec. Minimum	64	...	75	67	67
Maximum	91	...	87	91	91

except the 'Kalli' which grows into a bush of 5-6 feet. All these shrubs are primarily used as fuel, the 'Firangijali' and 'Hikajali' being exclusively so. Some like the 'Padijali' which have longer and sharper thorns are used in enclosures. 'Vadeyan Kalli' which is very hard is made use of in preparing short sticks to turn the grinding wheel. 'Bellad-Kanti' which is found in some corners of the Taluka is used in the destillation of illicit liquor. 'Kari-Kanti' is the only bush that bears fruits which are eaten by the poorer people. Some of the shrubs are herbs that have great medicinal value. 'Lolsar' is largely used by the local people as a remedy against gonorrhea, the 'Kad-avari' as an antidote for stomach-ache, and the 'Nibati' as painkiller. The 'Kad-avari' is also used in tanning.

B. Field-trees (These include road-trees).

1. Jali or acacia arabica.

This is a thorny tree having a height varying from 25 ft. in the inundated area to 6 ft. in the non-irrigated region. This tree grows any where and attains its full height in about 3 years. Jali timber is preferred by cultivators in making agricultural implements and by house-builders while selecting the beams, as it is hard and lasting. Its thorns are used to fence a field, a haystack, or a grave-yard. Its bark is made use of in tanning leather. Pods and leaves of jali tree are eaten voraciously by sheep and goats. Jali wood makes very good fuel and yields the best charcoal. If jali trees are grown round the boundary of the fields they conserve moisture, afford cool shade to the cultivator in the hot season, food to his goats, fuel to his wife, wood for his carts and agricultural implements and timber for his house. In short it is a valuable asset to the agriculturist.

2. Neem.

Neem is a tree which like the jali can be grown at all places. Timber of a bigger diameter than that of Jali tree can be obtained from this tree for being used for house building. Its leaves and bark are used by some people as medicine. Oil produced out of its seeds is said to possess great medicinal properties.

3! Basri or *Ficus retusa*.

This tree is generally planted along the road sides. It grows high and spreads out its branches in all directions, keeping the road shady and cool. Goats are fed on its leaves and its wood is used as fuel.

4. Atti or *Ficus glomerata*.

This tree can be found only on the banks of the river. Fruits known as atti fruits grow wild on this tree and are eaten by the local people. As these fruits get spoiled soon they cannot be marketed. Its leaves are eaten by goats. Atti branch figures in marriage ceremonies.¹ Wood of this tree is sawn into planks which are used for cupboards and cots.

5. Al or *Ficus bengalensis*.

Like the basri, this tree is also planted along the sides of the road as its branches spread out shade over a larger area. The leaves of the tree are pinned with one another into a broad leafy plate which is universally used by the Brahmins as substitute for metal plates. Leaves are sold in the market. The juice oozed out by the tree is used as medicine.

6. Arali or *Ficus religiosa*.

This tree grows wherever it is planted. It is considered as holy by the Hindus and is worshipped. It is not used as fuel.

7. Shirsal.

This tree is not planted. But it is found at many places particularly near the river and in the forests. Some believe that it is an abode of evil spirits. Some others consider it holy. No use is made of the tree.

Among other trees there are mango trees number 6885, tamarind, 2250; cocoanut trees, 80, the Shindi trees, 2550; the neral or eugenia jambolana; the bori or jujube; lemon plants 121; and jack fruit trees, 29.

Type of the forests.

The forests of Gokak represent an average type of scrub forests. These forests are situated on hills which rise abruptly

1. Refer to chapter on marriage customs.

from cultivated fields on all sides. As a rule, the sloping hill-sides are littered with angular boulders and studded with masses of grit-stone. Forests occupy no-where a plain area, as such areas have already been handed over for cultivation, Humus is every-where absent and grass, generally spear-grass or this kind mixed with 'Karad' grows at all places.

Distribution of the forests in the Taluka.

Forests occupied 55533 acres in 1938-39. This figure for 1922-23 was 57178 and for 1932-33 was 57140 acres. Forests are obtained mostly to the south and south-east of the Taluka which receives greater rainfall. Though there is some area of forests near Gokak it is practically without any good vegetation. The eastern part singularly suffers from an absence of forests.

Animals.

Gokak forests are not infested with many wild animals. Only stray cases of panther have been reported. Monkeys are also few but serpents are not uncommon. Rotands are ever busy in eating away the seeds. Hunters in these forests can get a sure booty of only hares and deer.

Advantages of these forests to Gokak Taluka.

The advantages of these forests to the Taluka cannot be overstated. (1) Without them, Gokak would have been turned into a desert. They conserve moisture of the soil and thus help cultivation. (2) Forests supply fuel to the Gokak town and the villages that lie in their neighbourhood. The suffering that would have befallen these places if there were no forests can be best realized from the fuel difficulties of the people in the plains. These people have to use as fuel cotton and chilly stalks, the part of jowar fodder uneaten by cattle, thorny bushes and the like which produce more of smoke than cinders or fire. (3) These forests have beds of strong stone which can be used in building houses. The boulders and earth from these forests are liberally made use of for the same purpose. Durable grinding stones are being turned out from the stones of these forests. Quarrying is in progress at several places. (4) Some of the products of these

forests are very useful to the people:—Honey for eating, remburni leaves for the manufacture of 'bidis', tarvad bark for tanning, thorns for fencing, harda, dindal gum and honey wax for exporting, bamboos for house-building, and timber for export. (5) Grazing facilities afforded by these forests are inestimable. (6) These forests give employment to many people. Every year 10 coups are cleared and work of clearance requires the services of about 400 labourers for a period of 5 months. A part of the population in the forest regions is mainly dependent upon the forests. Many more are engaged in carrying timber to market places or fuel to Gokak town. About 18000 bags of charcoal are prepared and exported annually and nearly a hundred people are employed in this work. Besides, several others are engaged, some to plant new seeds, a few others in carrying stones or thorns, and the rest in quarrying.

Fodder Problem.

The number of livestock has increased and on the other hand area under grass has decreased. As cotton, sugarcane, and chillies yield no fodder, an increase in their area means a corresponding decrease in the production of fodder. As is pointed out elsewhere, the increase in the acreage under ground-nuts has been definitely at the expense of that under grass. It is clear from this that a state of underfeeding is going on at present. If due consideration is not given to this problem, it is going to have serious repercussion on agricultural economy in which healthy livestock is a very important factor.

Pests.

(1) Among all the pests grass-hopper is proving a formidable enemy of agricultural interests. Their number is increasing every year. Loss accrued to the cultivators on account of the devastation of bajri crops by grass-hoppers is greater than is usually estimated. Attempts of the Rural Development Department to exterminate this enemy have not yet been successful. (2) 'Kundari-moti hula'—The face of this insect is like that of a horse. It saps jowar and bajri plants. (3) 'Guladali-hula'—This worm has a shape like

that of the mangal-sutra or the holy thread with the cup-shaped ornament attached to it which is tied to the wife by the husband at the time of marriage. This worm creeps over the cereals and empties them of all stuff. (4) 'Kidi'—This is a green worm having greater length than breadth. It gets into crops of gram, tur, and safflower and completely destroys them. (5) 'Laddi Hula'—This attacks the jowar plants and nips its ears.

Birds.

Like worms and insects some of the birds attack the crops and eat or destroy them. When the corn is becoming ripe sparrows, parrots, 'bal-pilli' and 'gongakki' all swarm the field and feast upon the corn. Some birds of passage like the 'Kabbakki,' 'Talawar-hakki,' and 'Kodarkonka' visit the fields, only during the Rabi harvest season. Most of these birds feed on jowar or bajri crop. 'Belavw' is the only bird which attacks safflower.

Natural regions of Gokak.

Gokak can be divided into the following natural regions :—

The 'Holesal' or the river-inundated region.

Area that is inundated by the floods is said to belong to this region. The lands are fertile as they receive deposits of alluvial soil from the fields. These lands have not to depend upon rainfall. Harvests in this region are sure. Green fodder of the river banks can support the best kind of cattle. People find no scarcity of drinking water in summer, but in the rainy season they have to use muddy water if they have no good wells. Tasty vegetables also can be grown here.

The Irrigated region.

All the 14 villages that are irrigated by canals and 13 others that are irrigated by wells form this region. This region grows mostly the commercial crops. Vegetables are plentiful and green fodder is available through out the year. Wages are high and labourers get employment all the year.

The forest region.

All the villages that lie near or within the valleys between the hills are included in this region. The soil is generally poor

No. 4. Statement giving statistics about livestock

Description	1939-40	1919-20	1915-16
Stud bulls ...	13	23	115
Bulls above 3 years ...	21107	21084	22461
Useless bulls ...	278	380	481
Total number of bulls ...	21398	21487	23057
Milch cows ...	8143	Not available	Not available
Not milking ...	648	"	"
Not yet calved ...	964	"	"
Total number of cows (above 3 years) ...	9755	93281	133742
Useless cows ...	51		
Calves within a year ...	5370	Not available	Not available
Calves between 1-3 years ...	5723		
Total number of calves ...	11093	9689	12831
Stud he-buffaloes ...	37	31	40
Working he-buffaloes ...	2391	2828	3204
Useless ...	54	80	72
Total ...	2482	2939	3316
Milch she-buffaloes ...	13032	Not available	Not available
Not milking ...	781	"	"
Not yet calved ...	1287	"	"
Total number of she-buffaloes (above 3 years) ...	15100	11501	12681
Buffalo calves within a year ...	7867	Not available	Not available
Calves between 1-3 years ...	4589		
Total number of calves ...	12456	8282	9546
Sheep within a year ...	10030	Not available	Not available
(continued)			

(Continued)

Description		1939-40	1919-20	1915-16
Above one year	...	35999	Not available	Not available
Total number of sheep	...	46029	28679	25686
Goats within a year	...	11309	Not available	Not available
Goats above one year	...	27328	"	"
Total number of goats	...	38637	14604	17492
Horses	...	435	Not available	Not available
Useless Horses	...	80	"	"
Total number of horses	...	495	647	661
Asses	...	436	Not available	Not available
Camels	...	20	"	"
Pigs	...	977	"	"
Hens	...	3321	"	"
Cocks	...	16432	"	"
Chickens	...	15693	"	"

but rainfall is heavy and regular. Cattle in this region enjoy grazing facilities but the breed is poor. People get employment in the forest for some months in a year. The climate is malarial. Bajri and groundnuts are the main crops.

The Kundarnad region.

In the forest region of Gokak Taluka a tract of land can be distinguished round about the village of Kundargi from the rest of the forest region in the following respects. The tract

is more fertile. The rainfall is never failing and so good harvests of cotton, tobacco, and groundnuts are reaped by the cultivators. Enough of dairy products are produced here. All the villages in this tract have railway stations very near to them. Except for the inter-village transport difficulties during the rainy season, this tract can have no complaints against Nature. As this tract differs in many aspects from the forest region, it can be called by name—The Kundarnad region.

The region of plains.

This region has very uncertain rainfall and draughts occur frequently. Drinking water is also not ample. Vegetable cannot be grown very easily. Cattle get green fodder only for some months, but dry fodder is not scarce. The chief crops are jowar, bajri, wheat, gram and cotton.

B Agriculture, Trade and transport

Net cropped area :—Gokak taluka has an area of 430456 acres out of which 336639 acres are under cultivation. Of the total area under cultivation in 1938–39, 307458 acres constituted the net cropped area and the rest 27915 acres was fallow out of which 22,123 acres were uncultivable. The reasons for keeping land fallow are various. Some lands lie fallow as they cannot be sowed on account of bad seasons. Some others are kept fallow in order that they may receive some rest and thus recover their fertility. The fallow of this type forms a small proportion. But the most important reason for not sowing is that the land may grow grass for cattle. In the past all the poorer lands were kept fallow only for this purpose. Fallow land in 1918–19 was as much as 73067 acres. The rising prices of ground-nuts tempted the cultivator to grow more of ground-nuts instead of keeping the land fallow to grow grass. Last many years have seen a rapid increase in the net cropped area. The net cropped area has increased from 260113 acres in 1918–19 to 307458 in 1938–39. This increase has been brought about by bringing scrub-lands, fallow lands and semi-forests under cultivation. Every day the pressure of population on land is increasing and the time is fast approaching when no more land can be brought under cultivation.

No. 5 Statement showing the acreage under some important crops.

Year	Net cropped area	Double cropped	Fallow	Jowar	Wheat	Bajri	Cotton	Ground- nuts	Grams	Sugar- cane	Tobacco	Grass
1918-19	260113	2603	73067	147864	11731	14078	37888	369	4289	1292	1210	...
1922-23	290364	3461	42745	130999	20980	37400	37375	488	5092	992	1399	...
1927-28	308009	3237	26084	114063	15574	...	59916	1677	3475	693	1994	2369
1928-29	308380	3349	25313	125145	20035	38993	63202	4193	4322	697	2603	1182
1931-32	303724	2284	30042	101727	18862	52831	52821	6288	3447	991	1747	1473
1932-33	305654	1718	29054	104022	26772	57458	45346	7667	5078	944	1230	1502
1935-36	299769	1897	35332	147983	23473	25002	45927	5229	...	...	1949	1261
1936-37	299849	2688	35347	123718	25918	49130	32763	6820	...	...	1406	1303
1937-38	304267	1832	...	121722	28100	52855	32662	6905	5826	732	2351	1172
1938-39	307458	2630	29181	93958	27338	67677	40993	10918	4616	736	2394	1056

Area under different crops.

Jowar.

Jowar occupies a larger area than any other crop. In 1938-39, 30 percent of the net cropped area was under jowar. The percentage for the year 1918-19 is as high as 60. This decrease is due to the increase in the acreage of commercial crops. Moreover, the area under jowar is regulated by many factors. When season is unfavourable bajri is sown instead of jowar. When the prices of cotton are high, jowar is replaced by cotton. When wheat is paying, it is cultivated over a greater area. Thus acreage under jowar between successive years shows a wide variation. In 1922-23, area under jowar was about 17,000 acres less than that in 1918-19 and it is significant that during this time area under wheat and gram increased by 17,000 acres. In the year 1935-36 acreage under jowar was the greatest and that under bajri very small;

Jowar grows well in the black heavy soils. It is the only crop which can be raised for years successively without exhausting the soil. If the soil is not bad enough it can grow the crop without much manure. It is grown both as a khariff and a rabi crop. In 1938-39, 26,758 acres were under rabi jowar and 67,200 under khariff jowar. The rabi variety is white in colour and is more tasty: the khariff jowar is red-dish in colour and is sold at a cheaper rate. Rabi jowar raised in the inundated fields is of a bigger size and very palatable. So it is in great demand. In irrigated land jowar is sown only for fodder. Jowar fodder is very nourishing to the cattle and is exceptionally tasty.

Wheat.

27338 acres of net cropped area in 1938-39 was under wheat. Statistics for the last 20 years show a gradual increase in the acreage under wheat from 11,731 acres in 1918-19 to 27,338 acres in 1938-39. High prices are partly responsible for this.

What is purely a rabi crop which thrives well if there are good late rains. Sticky black soil is best suited for its cultivation. It is rotated with cotton and jowar. In certain

places it is rotated with gram. Safflower is also raised as a mixed crop with wheat. Cold wind is injurious to the wheat plant ; it attacks ears of wheat and turns it red.

Cotton.

Cotton is one of the commercial crops grown in the taluka over an area of 40,993 acres in 1938-39. The same figure for 1918-19 is 37,888. This crop exhausts the soil very soon. So it is usually rotated with jowar. But when soaring prices prevail, cotton is cultivated in contravention of the healthy rotation system. In 1928-29, nearly 63,000 acres were under cotton.

Three kinds of cotton are grown in the taluka. Jawari cotton is the country or native cotton. Jayavant cotton has been recently introduced. Attempts are being made to popularise it. Upland cotton is grown only in irrigated lands.

Bajri.

Bajri accounted for 67,677 acres in 1938-39. It is exclusively a dry crop and is grown in poorer soils wherein jowar cannot be profitably cultivated. Bajri is cheaper than jowar. Its straw is not relished well by cattle and is sometimes used in thatching huts. In recent years grass-hoppers are proving a formidable pest.

Ground-nuts.

No other crop has shown such an incredible increase in its acreage as ground-nuts. Only twenty years back they were grown only for local or domestic consumption. But no sooner the farmer came to know that ground-nut cultivation brings a good return on account of increased prices of ground-nuts than he sowed ground-nuts in all the inferior soils that he had left to grow grass or fodder. Area under ground-nuts has increased from 369 acres in 1918-19 to 10,918 acres in 1938-39. When it is remembered that ground-nut cultivation has increased at the expense of grass and fodder, the increase is alarming.

Sugar-cane.

It is a commercial crop which can ruin its grower or land him in prosperity. As income from its cultivation is depen-

dent upon prices which fluctuate beyond the expectations of the grower, sugar-cane cultivation involves enormous risk. It is entirely an irrigated crop and requires heavy initial expenditure. So in a year of depression the cultivator has to throw himself at the mercies of the money-lender. A very few people can afford to take such risks and for this reason only, acreage under sugar-cane has gradually decreased from 1292 acres in 1918-19 to 736 acres in 1938-39,

Gonjol or Maize.

This is purely an irrigated crop occupying an area of 5019 acres. This crop is ready for reaping in three months after sowing. Now-a-days this is raised extensively in preference to sugar-cane on account of the less risk involved in its cultivation.

Area under irrigation and irrigated crops.

17,557 acres of the net cropped area are under irrigation. Out of this 8235 acres are under well-irrigation and 9291 acres under canal irrigation. The double cropped area is 2525 acres.

The important irrigated crops and area under each of them, is—maize, 5019 acres; cereals 2712 acres; cotton 2605 acres ; gram, 1399 acres ; wheat, 686 acres.

Area under Vegetables, Roots etc.

The total area under roots is 974 acres. Out of these 375 acres are under onions, 205 acres under carrots and 364 acres under sweet potato. The area under vegetables is 275 out of which 197 acres are under brinjals. Fodder covers 415 acres and fruit trees occupy 275 acres.

Markets.

Gokak is the only major market. The other markets where weekly bazars are held number five. In these markets people sell their produce and make their purchases,

Sale of produce on a large scale is restricted to a season only. On other bazar days also people come to the market to make purchases of the weekly requirements like oil, salt and spices. They have to come weekly or bimonthly as they have not the necessary amount to make purchases for a month. Again even where there are shops in the village local purchases are a bit costly; so it has become customary for rural people to go to the bazar on that particular day. Invariably the female member of the household is entrusted with this task. She is not given any cash. She takes with her the butter-stock of the week, the vegetables grown in her field, or some seers of corn and exchanges them with the trader in the market for the things she wants or sells them and then buys the things with that money. In Gokak Taluka a lot of difficulty is felt by the people on account of the great distance of the market.

The following Statement illustrates the above statement.

No. 6—Statement showing the distance of the market usually visited from the village.

In miles ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total No.
No. of villages ...	5	3	5	10	3	7	8	9	8	2	3	...	1	studied. 64

The table shows that most of the people have to walk a distance of more than 3 miles to go the market place.

Local shops and their Position.

No. 7—Statement showing the number of grocery shops.

No. of shops ...	0	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	More than 10	Total
No. of villages	23	19	13	12	4	3	2	2	...	2	15	120

Table shows that 23 villages are without shops of any description. The reason is not that shops cannot be opened there but is that shops cannot be conducted due to paucity of business. Most of the things are purchased in the market and

things bought from the local shops are salt, oil, the powder sugar and some spices. For this reason the shopkeepers of petty villages do not stock anything more than these articles. Now-a-days people are getting conscious of the manner of their exploitation. As some people at least from a village visit the bazar, others can know from them the ruling prices of that day. So the shopkeepers cannot demand a higher price. He can, at most, sell at the price that was prevailing on the last bazar day plus the carrying charges, though the prices might have gone down in the meantime. This he can do till the next bazar day only. The shopkeepers also indulge in some malpractices, the exact extent of which cannot be measured. But real profit accrues to them on account of the barter system which is still in vogue in rural areas. Buyers instead of bringing cash bring some corn from their stock and request the trader to give the thing they need in exchange. They do not inquire the price nor can they calculate the money-worth of the corn and its purchasing capacity. Shopkeepers take advantage of this. Again as many people have to buy on credit they are charged a higher price. As they are in need they do not object to this. It is also alleged in some quarters that shopkeepers manipulate the accounts.

Transport System:—There are 8 good roads and a number of feeder roads. The rail-road passes through one end of the Taluka. But there are many defects in the transport system.

(i) Metalled roads are few and connect only Gokak town with rest of the world and these roads have not brought all the villages of the taluka in contact with the Gokak town. The following table shows that the roads are not very useful to the villages as they lie at a great distance from them.

No. 8—Statement showing the distance of the metalled roads from the village.

In miles.	0	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	above 8	Total No.
										of villages.
No. of villages.	26	17	22	20	16	7	7	2	3	120

(ii) Some roads are run over by floods which have a great force and cannot be crossed on boats even.

(iii) Intervillage communication is hopelessly bad. Even in the dry season many of the villages are not easily approachable. Some villages are connected together through the basins of the water channels that go dry in summer. Carts have to be dragged along the track that are full of ups and downs. In the rainy season some of the villages are isolated from the villages. The loose sticky soil of the taluka forms mud every where and speedy walking is also not possible,

(iv) Market and village communication:—In the absence of good roads, great difficulty is found in the marketing of agricultural crops. In the rainy season mud and floods make it impossible for the carts to move about. The people have to carry things they want to sell, on their heads. In some villages they have to swim the river with load on their head. While moving in the mud they cannot put on shoes and their feet get picked with the 'jali' thorns that lie mixed up in the mud,

(v) Communication within the village is very unsatisfactory. The lanes of the village are very narrow and the paths are uneven. So the farmer cannot take his cart just in front of his house and has to carry the produce of his field to his house on his head only. In the rainy season the paths get slippery and in spite of the care taken, women sometimes tumble down with the waterpot on their heads. Least attention has been paid to such a state of bad things in rural areas.

Side Occupation:—The following statement gives a survey of some important side-occupations of the people in 25 villages.

No. 9—Survey of Side-Occupation.

Name of the village	Natural region	Total No. of houses	Dairy products
Betgeri	Open plain	300	100
Tapsi	"	20	25
Bagarnal	"	110	35
Gosbal	"	100	25
Kemman-kol	Plain	150	30
Venkatapur	"	150	25
Kulgod	"	550	175
Radderhatti	"	92	20
Yergudri	"	150	20
Gulgunji-kopp	"	90	12
Timmapur	"	80	12
Talkattanal	River* basin	350	60
Bilkundi	Open plain	100	4
Hadaginhal	River basin	150	30
Kalarkop	"	75	15
Chika-dholi	"	40	12
Melavanki	"	450	175
Kaujalagi	Open plain	500	40
Tigadi	River basin	100	20
Hunshyal P. Gokak	"	300	75
Yadwad	Open plain	900	150
Koppadhatti	"	80	10
Kaman-katti	"	160	15
Mudalagi	Irrigated	740	150
Urminhatti		80	12

* Read inundated in place of river basin.

(Continued)

Vegetable selling	Cart- rent	Poultry farming	Spin- ning	Yarn making	Rope selling
4	15	40	10	2	2
2	5	10	...	...	...
3	...	10	2	1	...
2	3	6	1	...	...
3	2	4	2	2	1
...	6	1	...	1	...
10	10	20	10	6	4
...	2	...	...	1	...
...	2	12	4	2	1
...	1	10	2	...	...
...	2	4	...	1	...
...	12	20	...	...	...
...
...	1	50	10	...	...
...	2	28	...	...	...
...	...	10	...	...	...
25	8	30	...	...	...
50	26	30	25	2	4
...	8	...	6	...	2
...	8	42	...	...	...
30	35	60	26	5	...
...	3	10	...	...	...
8	2	20	...	...	...
8	15	75	15	12	20
...	...	...	20	...	...

Survey of Side-Occupation.

Name of the village	Natural region.	Basket making	Grinding	Occa-sional trade
Betgeri	Open plain	4	5	5
Tapsi	"	...	2	2
Bagarnal	"	1	3	1
Gosbal	"	2	2	1
Kemen-kol.	Plain	...	3	4
Venkatapur	"	...	...	2
Kulgod	"	10	25	10
Radderhatti	"	...	...	...
Yergudri	"	2	3	1
Gulgunji-kopp	"	...	...	1
Timmapur	"	...	...	...
Talkattanal	River* basin	...	...	...
Bilkundi	Open plain	3	...	...
Hadaginhal	River basin	...	...	...
Kalarkop	"	...	...	...
Chika-dholi	"	...	...	...
Melavanki	"	2	4	3
Kaujalagi	Open plain	4	...	2
Tigadi	River basin	...	...	...
Hunshyal	"	...	...	...
P. Gokak	"	2	...	...
Yadwad	Open plain	...	20	10
Koppadhatti	"	...	5	5
Kaman-katti	"	...	...	...
Mudalagi	Irrigated	3	3	100
Urminahatti	"	...	...	10

* Read inundated in place of river basin.

(Continued)

Cattle trade	Cattle Dalali	Rice preparing	Wool spinning	Fire wood selling	Sheep rearing	Blankets prepar- ing
..	1	3	4	...	5	2
..	1	2	2	...	3	1
..	...	2	2	...	3	...
..	...	1	...	...	3	...
..	1	1	5	...	5	8
...	...	...	...	...	5	...
..	1	...	10	8	8	...
..	...	...	...	...	1	...
..	...	...	...	...	3	...
..	...	...	...	...	4	...
..	...	...	...	...	15	...
22	5	...	5	...	5	4
..	...	...	2	...	2	2
15	...	...	11	...	10	...
15	4	...	...	...	...	...
3	...	...	...	...	2	...
100	13	...	...	2	4	4
4	...	...	2	...	5	...
20	2	...	...	...	...	2
50	9	...	...	...	5	...
...	...	...	...	15	20	3
...
...	...	...	...	...	3	...
100	125	...	...	15	12	3
...	...	8	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER II

Rural Population.

Explanatory notes on terms used and the method followed :—Grand-father generation—Women who are over 40 years are supposed as belonging to grand-father generation.

Economic Classes :—Families are classified into eight classes viz. cultivating owner, tenant, labourer, trader, artizan, servant, Harijan, and 'rest'.

Cultivating owner is one who gets the greater part of his income from the self-owned and self-cultivated lands when the harvest is normal. A cultivating owner may fail to realize, the greater part of his income from his lands in a particular year due to bad harvests. Again all those who cultivate the lands of others, income from which does not form the greater part of their income are also included in this class. As the number of land-lords who live on the rents they receive from their tenants, was too small to be grouped under a separate class, they are included in this-class. 'Owners', is used as a short form for the term 'the cultivating owners.'

A similar definition holds good in respect of 'tenants,' 'labourers' and traders.

Artisan class includes all the hereditary artisans who receive dues, namely carpenters, black-smiths, barbers, potters and washermen.

Independent artisans like the gold-smiths, the weavers, the vaddar or the stone-cutters and the korvars or musicians are also included in this class.

'Servants' includes the mill-workers, the menial workers, and the superior servants like the Patil, the Kulkarni and the school-teacher.

Harijans or untouchables are grouped under this heading.

The 'rest' includes mainly the priest, the people called Das and the shepherds; all other occupations which cannot be described by any of the above names are included in this class.

Method used in determining the age of the members of the family—Determination of age has been a baffling problem with the Census authorities. The villager does not remember his birth-date nor can he give his exact age. The Census authorities have been following the practice of collecting the incorrect data as it is available and then sifting it with statistical methods which are supposed to minimise the error in the results by distributing the error over a wider area called the age-group. Nevertheless the fact remains that the data collected are far from accurate. It was the aim of the author to obtain the ages as accurately as possible. So the method followed was one of determining the ages by comparisons :—by comparing the age of the head of the family to the other members of the family and of the members to one another or of the members in reference to some well-known historical event the date of which is known. The method can be illustrated thus :—

A list of some three or four dates which are remembered by every villager for some memorable event of that year like the floods, famine or epidemic, were made. The head of the family whose age is to be determined was asked many questions of the following nature. The usual answers received are also recorded below.

Question.	Answer.
1. How old are you ?	50 years.
2. How old were you when the great famine broke out (in 1895)	I am told that I was just born
3. What is the age of your son ?	25 years.
4. How old was your son during influenza epidemic (of 1919) ?	2 years.
5. What is the age of your wife ?	40 years.
6. What was your age at the time of your marriage ?	15 years.

7. What was your wife's age then ? 10 years;
8. What is the difference in age between you ? 4-5 years.
9. How many years after marriage did your wife come of age ? 2 years.
10. How many years after bed ceremony was your son born ? 3 years.

Since the person was just born during the great famine which is known to have occurred in 1895, his age must be some where near 46 years. If the boy was of two years in 1919, he must be now 23 years old. Taking 16 as the age of the mother when her bed ceremony was performed, we can roughly say that the boy was born when she was 19, which means her age now must be $19+23=42$ years and the difference between the couple is $46-42=4$ years. As girls usually come of age between 14-15 years, the age of the mother at the time of her marriage must have been $14-2=12$ years and that of the father $12+4=16$ years. Thus the age of the father, mother and the eldest son are found out. It is not necessary to ask all these questions in every case. In most of the cases, the requisite information is obtained on asking a question of the type of number two given above. When once the age of the father is determined, it is easy to find out those of the other members by adding or deducting a few years representing the juniority or seniority of the member. In cases where ages of many brothers had to be determined, the age of the eldest son or the youngest son was found out and those of others was deduced from the difference in years between the births of the person whose age is known and of the person whose age is to be determined.

This method appears on the surface very long and inconvenient, but in fact it is very simple and guarantees fair accuracy under the circumstances in which our age returns are being made.

(i) *The growth and density of population of Gokak Taluka during 1881-1941.*

No. 12—Statement showing the growth and density of population of Gokak Taluka during 1881-1941.

Year	Population.	Percentage increase over the preceding Census,	Density per square mile.
1881	92,029		138
1891	1,18,556	28.80	177
1901	1,16,126	2.05	175.4
1911	1,23,225	6.11	188
1921	1,28,735	4.46	192
1931	1,45,083	12.70	216
1941	1,62,186 ¹	11.80	242

Statement No. 12 shows that growth of population has not been uniform. Such a trend in population growth suggests that some disturbing forces have been at work.

Famines :—One of such forces is undoubtedly the recurrence of famines in the taluka the greater part of which is in a semi-famine zone. Population history of the last 70 years definitely shows that famines have actively interfered with the growth and movement of population on several occasions since 1876. The famine of 1876 was very severe. Intensity of the famine of this year can be best realized when it is told that it carried a death toll of 15,539 people in 4 years (1876-1879) from 70 villages of the taluka having a population of 51,539². Population for 1881, which is given as 92,029 thus represents the individuals who survived this great famine. Statistics available

¹ Figure is obtained by adding excess of births over deaths of 1931-40 to 1931 population, vide table 1, 2. But census 10 figures available give the figure as 1, 64, 729. This actual increase is due to omission in record of all births.

² Page 21. First Revision Settlement Report, 1886.

for 58 villages show that the population for 1881 registered a decrease of 9 p. c. in the population for 1851. 2.05 p. c. decrease in 1901 is due to famines of 1896-97, 1899-1900 and 1900-1901. Low increase in 1911 and 1921 can also be attributed to famines of 1906 and 1918-19 respectively. When contrasted with the decrease of population in 1881 or 1901, or with the low increase in 1911 or 1921, the remarkable increase in the decenniums of 1881-91, 1921-31 and 1931-41 which were free from major famines, bears an eloquent testimony to the devastating influence of famines on population growth. On the whole it can be asserted that population growth has suffered many set-backs on account of high death-rates and low birth-rates (due to the deaths of pregnant women and of males and females in reproductive period) in times of famine.

Epidemics:—Epidemics are the other forces disturbing population growth. Like famines they have raged in the taluka from time to time and not infrequently in times of famine as a result of famine only. Like famines too, epidemics act as a powerful check on population growth. Ill-equipped with medical assistance as the villagers are, they fall victims in hundreds whenever an epidemic makes its appearance. The influenza fever of 1920 has still left painful memories in the minds of many people. The plague of 1906 and subsequent years has a tale which is equally horrifying. Upto the year 1911, there were 3929¹ recorded deaths from plague in Gokak town only. The death statistics that we get in taluka records are so defective as regards the causes of death, that it is not possible to measure the extent of mortality due to epidemics. Again as epidemics sometime occur in times of famine, deaths of this period are usually attributed to starvation caused by famine, though epidemic was the most important cause. But it can be said on the whole, that epidemics have not been less lenient towards population growth than famines.

Emigration:—Emigration is the third important factor which disturbs population growth. This, it does, by influencing the movement of population. In rural areas emigration

cannot be expected in normal times. It is only when famines occur, that a part of the population prefers emigration to starvation at home. Famine can be called the most important cause of emigration. Among the emigrants there are very few cultivators; Because unlike other classes, land-owning class cannot leave its village on account of its interest in land and other immoveable property. Emigration is the greatest among the members of the land-less class, partly due to the ease with which they can move and partly due to the more severe effect of the famines on them. The land-less classes like the weavers and the labourers are entirely dependent on the peasantry for their maintenance. In times of famine they find that the famine-stricken agriculturists cannot feed them and so they migrate to places where employment is more secure. Thus every year of famine sees the migration of many artisans and labourers and a consequent decrease in population. This decrease is the greatest in towns which have the largest proportions of these classes. "In illustration of this it may be noted that in Gokak itself the total decrease amounts to 34 p. c. (in 1881) while in Yadwad*, now a town numbering 300 inhabitants and next in size to Gokak itself, the decrease is 18 p. c.¹ Population figures of Gokak and Yadwad for subsequent Censuses given below show that emigration was going on at Gokak till 1911 and that at Yadwad it is still continuing.

Year	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921 ²	1931
Gokak	12612	10307	12105	9860	7326 ³	...	11866
Yadwad	...	3000	4405	3367	...	...	2800

The decrease in the percentage of the non-agricultural population from 39 p. c. in 1888 to 33.99 p. c. in 1901⁴ and then to 23.93 p. c. in 1911,⁵ is a solid proof, if further proof

* Yadwad is a village in Gokak Taluka.

1 Page 5, First Revision Settlement Report, 1883.

2 Figures for 1921 could not be obtained,

3 Decrease is partly due to deaths from plague.

(4) & (5) Second Revision Settlement Report, 1919, page 5.

is necessary, that migration was in continuous operation in the taluka at least upto 1911. In the absence of proper statistics it is not possible to say anything definite about migration of population after 1911. But it seems that there has not been any large-scale migration at least after 1921.

Immigration:—As a disturbing factor of population-growth in Gokak taluka, influence of immigration cannot be measured due to the lack of necessary statistics. It appears that a part of the population that emigrated owing to famine conditions returned to their village with restoration of normal conditions. Sudden increase of 28·11 p. c. of the population in 1891 may be partly attributed to the immigration of those who had emigrated in 1881. A similar increase in the population of Yadwad in 1891 and of Gokak Town during 1911-31¹ cannot be due to anything but this. Gokak Mills, Limited,, have attracted a large number of immigrants. But there has not been great immigration in recent years.

Existence of other disturbing factors of population growth like conscious control over births, a natural decrease in fertility or a deliberate attempt to decrease mortality rates etc. cannot be traced.

Total Growth:—Total growth of population during the past 50 years is 36·73 p. c. It is to be noted that the increase has taken place in spite of the frequent operations of natural checks like famines and epidemics.

Density of Population:—Density has increased from 138 per square mile in 1881 to 242 in 1941. Density of population of Gokak taluka is insignificantly low when compared to that of more fertile regions like the Indo-Gangetic plains. But when this is compared to the fertility of the soil and other avenues of employment available in the taluka it can not be said that the density is low.

(ii) Analysis of Population

Analysis of population according to sex:—An analysis according to sex of the population-sample under study shows that for every 1000 males there are only 954 females¹. Cor-

1. Vide table No. 3.

responding figure for cultivating owners is 942; for tenants, 969; for labourers, 933; for traders, 972; for artisans, 945; for servants, 990. Census statistics of the taluka for 1931¹ also show that the sex-ratio is decidedly in favour of males. This is a feature which Gokak shares with the other parts of the Presidency. A study of 1931 Census figures² reveals that the males are in excess of females in all the districts excepting Ratnagiri. The greater number of females in Ratnagiri district is probably due to the large-scale seasonal emigration of males to Bombay at the time when Census enumerations are being taken. The Provinces of the Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal have the same high ratio of males. For India taken as a whole there are only 940 females for 1000 males.

Reasons for the high male ratio:—To confine ourselves to the taluka, we see no such emigration as can materially affect the sex-ratio. Prevalence of female infanticide cannot be traced. Again there is no reason to suppose that people withhold their women from Census enumerations. In fact, the reasons for this unequal ratio between the sexes are furnished by vital statistics. Birth statistics of the last ten years³ show that every year more males are born than females. The number of female births for 1000 males born in the decade of 1931-40 is only 947. The corresponding figure for the Bombay Presidency for 1921-30 is 923.⁴ The birth statistics of the Bombay Presidency for 1891-1921⁵ also show that there is an excess of males at birth. This high sex ratio of males at birth in the taluka as well as in the Presidency suggests that preponderance of male births is a biological trait of the population. Such a supposition is not unsound when it is remembered that the people of these areas have a great desire for the birth of males. This desire can be found not only among the Brahmins who consider the birth of a son a necessary condition to father's salvation but also among other people. To a

1. In 1931 there were 73,673 males and 71,410 females.

2. Page 126, Bombay Census, 1931.

3. Vide table No. 1.

4. Page 140, Bombay Census.

5. Page 100, Bombay Census, 1921.

patriarchal family a son is always an asset and a daughter only a 'trust' that is to be handed over to another in marriage. It is very likely that this desire might have been in existence since the beginning of the patriarchal family in the distant past and might have by acting as an agent of Natural Selection on the variations, selected only those women who have preponderance of male births as their biological trait. Further, when a caste or a section of the population once acquired this character it was transmitted and preserved through generations by the rigorous marriage system of the castes, which encourages in-breeding and thus does not give scope for a fresh pure line to start.

On the other hand we notice the action of Natural Selection in quite the opposite direction in castes and regions where desire for females is greater. The high female ratio of Cochin (1043 females for 1000 males) and of Malabar (1059 females for 1000 males) where mother-right system was predominant, corroborates our statement. Coming to Karnatak, in Harijans among whom unmarried daughters taking to prostitution are considered at par with sons as regards property rights, the sex ratio is in favour of females,¹

So it appears that the foundations of high sex ratio in favour of males is laid at birth by Nature only which—to give the figures for 1931-40 of Gokak—adds only 378 females to 1000 of the females for every addition of 387 to 1000 males. This inequality between the sexes is further aggravated to the disadvantage of the female sex by deaths. During 1931-40 for every 1000 male deaths, there are only 981 female deaths; but these figures should not be mistaken as indicating the low mortality of females. For, when deaths are related to the total population of that sex, the calculations show a heavy mortality among females. During 1931-40, 77,673 male population of 1931 gained 28,535 by birth and lost 19,360 through death; during the same period 71,410 female population of 1931 gained 26,928 by births and lost 19,000 through deaths. In other words, when 1,000 of the male population lost 189 by deaths

1. Page 474, Bombay Census Report 1931, Part II; table No. 3 G, Appendix, which is deleted shows 510 females for 508 males.

during 1931-40, 1,000 of the female population lost 193. These figures prove that higher mortality among females is also another cause of the high sex ratio in favour of the males.

Sex Ratio during the last 40 Years :—On account of excess of male births and also of higher female mortality, the sex ratio threatens to grow more and more in favour of the males. This is borne out by the figures of sex-ratio of the population at the last few Censuses.

Year	Females for 1000 males
Sample-study	954
Estimate for 1941 Census	958
1931	969
1921	971
1911	981

(b) Analysis of Population according to Age¹ :—In the whole population 43.33 p. c. are children below 16 years and 7.01 are old people above 50 years. The population which is capable of reproduction is 50.66. Among females this part of their population constitutes 49 p. c. The number of children is the largest in 1-5 age-group being 18.13 p. c. of the whole population. Females have 19.5 p. c. of their population in this age-group. If a pyramid is constructed showing the population in different age-groups, it would have the broadest base. This is an index to the high fertility of the population. But this high fertility combines in itself high mortality, index to which is furnished by the rapid fall of this percentage to 14.23 in 6-10 age-group and then 9.57 in 10-15 age-group. Only 2.41 p. c. of the population live long till the year of their diamond jubilee.

It is particularly remarkable that more women are found in the age-group of 61 and above among the labourers, where, as it is quite the reverse among cultivating owners.

Sex Ratio in Age-groups :—We saw that more males are born than females and that the sex-ratio of the population is in favour of the males. But it can be noticed that in the age-

1. Vide table No. 3.

group of 1-5, females outnumber males. Similar is the case with the 1-5 age-group of the population of the Karnatak districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar.¹ The figures for the Bombay Presidency also disclose that females exceed males in 1-5 age-group.² This clearly indicates that the mortality of males in the first five years of their life must be disproportionately very high. It seems that the high mortality of males continues till the age of ten, because we see the sex-ratio still in favour of females in the age-group of 6-10. Sexes attain almost an equality in numbers in the 16-20 age-group. Between the ages of 21-30 maternal mortality rates are high and sex-ratio consequently turns in favour of males. 31-40 seems to be a dangerous period for males and so once again the sexes come near equality in numbers. In the topmost age-group of 61 and above the sex-ratio swings again in favour of the females.

(c) Analysis of Population according to Civil Condition
No. 13—Statement showing the Civil Condition of Males
according to Classes

Class	P. C. of married	P. C. of unmarried	P. C. Widowed	P. C. Divorced
All males ...	45.5	48.5	5.3	0.8
Owners ...	45.0	48.5	5.9	.5
Tenants ...	48.3	46.0	5.1	.5
Labourers ...	45.7	47.1	5.9	1.4
Traders ...	45.1	49.3	4.8	.8
Artisans ...	44.7	49.5	4.5	.9
Servants ...	42.9	49.3	6.9	.9
Harijans ...	47.2	49.4	2.5	.9

1. Page 335, Bombay Census, 1931, Part I.

2. Page 82, Bombay Census, 1931, Part II.

(a) **Civil Condition of Males**¹:—48·5 p. c. of the male population is unmarried and 45·5 p. c. is married. The percentage of the unmarried is great among the Harijans, servants and artisans. The cause of this is to a great extent the poverty existing among them. For the same reason the percentage of the married is also very low among the servants and the artisans. The percentage of unmarried among the labourers is less than the percentage of unmarried for 'all males'; but this should not be mistaken as reflecting the better conditions of the labourers. If we add the percentage of the widowed and that of the divorced we see that the percentage of wifeless males among the labourers is less than the corresponding figure for all males. The tenants who are by no means economically better off than most of the other classes have 48·3 of their population married. A partial explanation of this is that many of the tenants are those who have been reduced to the position of tenants from that of owners on account of their marriage debts, to pay off which they had to sell their lands. The traders have only 45·5 percent of their population married. This is due to the prevalence of comparatively late marriages among them.

Another striking fact revealed by the statistics of civil condition is the large number of the married in the lower age-groups and the small number of the unmarried in the higher age-groups. More than 3 percent of the boys in the age-group of 1-15 and more than 40 percent of the lads in the age-group of 16-20 are married. The corresponding figures for the tenant class are 7·3 and 49. These figures are also high for the Harijan class. It is significant that none in the age-group of 1-15 among the servants is married. The reason is that inferior servants do not marry as they cannot afford to marry and the superior servants postpone marriage till the age of 18, partly through the fear of violating the Sarda Act of marriage and partly because they being educated, have come to realise that child marriages are unhealthy. In 21-30 age-group, more than 80 percent are married. Most of the unmarried in this age-group are those who have been forced to postpone their

1. Vide table No. 4.

marriage on account of poverty. But almost all of these people see that they are married before they are 40 years old. For this reason the percentage of unmarried falls to less than 3 per cent in the 31-40 age-group. In rural areas as marriage is a social necessity over and above a biological one, every one, however poor he may be, marries at least once in his life. It is hardly possible to find a person, if the Lingayat monks are excepted, who has voluntarily chosen to remain unmarried. Most of the unmarried persons in the age-group of 41 and above are either physical or mental defectives really unfit for marriage. In short, it is sufficient and significant for our purpose to say that no male who is capable of reproduction remains unmarried for life in rural areas.

But after marriage some lose their wives through death and some through divorce. In the male population 5.3 per cent have lost their wives through death and .9 per cent through divorce. The percentage of the wifeless males in the reproductive period is only 7.2.

Civil condition of females¹:—Study of the civil condition of females is more important as it has a direct bearing on the fertility of the population. It can be seen from the statistical tables that among females, marriages are earlier and more universal than among males. Only 38.74 per cent of the female population is unmarried. Out of this more than 80 per cent belong to 1-5 age-group. In the age-group of 16 and above, there are less than 4 per cent who are unmarried. Again 60 per cent of these are from the Harijan class and are prostitutes. Though according to the strict definition of marriage, they cannot be called married, society permits them to perform the reproductive function of marriage. In so far as they contribute to the total fertility of the population they are as good as married. If we leave these prostitutes out of account the percentage of uamarried females in the reproductive period comes to less than 1 per cent of the female population and they are found only in 16-25 age-group. Many of these are daughters of Brahmin land-lords among whom the question of girl's

marriage is becoming increasingly difficult on account of the dowry system. But among other castes hardly a girl remains unmarried till 20, unless she has some marked defect. On the whole, it is a significant thing that there is not a single unmarried girl—if Harijans are excepted—in the age-group of 31 and above.

10.4 percent of the female population is widowed. This figure is lower than that for India¹. This is due to the prevalence of widow remarriage system in these parts. But the percentage of the widowed among the females is nearly double that among the males. The reason for this is that women who become widows after forty consider themselves too old for remarriage; at least, males consider them so. Therefore even if a widow of 45 or so wants to remarry, few would be willing to take her hand in marriage. Again, women who are mothers of some children, and own some land, when they become widows do not seek remarriage on account of their interest in children and land. Most of the women who become widows after forty remain in that state only. So we find that 70 percent of the widows belong to 41 and above age-group. The low percentage of the widowed in the 26–30 age-group is due to remarriage of those who become widows. So great is the demand for young widows that generally no young widow remains unmarried unless she has special interests to safeguard. Many of the widows of 26–30 age-group are those who have recently lost their husbands. Some others are those who have refrained from remarriage through the fear of forfeiting their right to the property of their deceased husbands. At any rate the number of widows in the early reproductive period is not very large; so also the percentage of the divorced.

Frequency of marriage² :—The statement No. 14³ shows that among the married males every fifth person is one who has remarried. Females also remarry when they lose their

1 Page 222, India Census Report, Part I, 1931.

2 Vide Table No. 5.

3 For statement No. 14, see next page.

first husband through death or divorce. But among the females the percentage of the remarried to the total married is less than that among the males. The reason for this is that many of the widows choose to remain as widows only,

No. 14—Statement showing the frequency of marriage of males and females according to classes.

Class	Of the males (in numbers)					Of females.	
	2nd	3rd	4th & above	Total	p. c. of re-married to all married	2nd & above	p. c. of re-married to all married
1 All	366	60	15	441	20.15	360	15.89
2 Owners	96	27	6	129	21.92	104	16.06
3 Tenants	69	6	...	75	20.27	55	14.52
4 Labourers	76	5	3	84	23.20	70	20.11
5 Traders	17	4	2	23	19.82	14	12.24
6 Artisans	35	9	2	46	18.71	40	14.98
7 Servants	29	3	...	32	19.16	26	13.34
8 Harijans	32	2	1	36	14.6	38	17.27
9 Rest	12	4	1	17	16.66	13	13.

(d) Division of Population into Families

Size of the Family :—9373 individuals under study are divided into 1592 families. In other words there are 5.9 persons in a family on an average. Average number of members per family for different classes is, 6.5 for cultivating owner; 6.7 for tenants; 4.6 for labourers; 6.4 for traders; 5.9 for artisans; 5.9 for servants; and 6.1 for Harijans.

Size of the Family in Adult units¹ :—The average number of member per family in adult units is 4.3. The corresponding figure for different classes is, 4.5 for owners; 4.9 for tenants; 3.5 for labourers; 4 for traders; 4.3 for artisans and 4.4 for servants. These figures are to a slight extent under-estimates as, particularly in the case of owners, Harijans and servants the group of 'above 8' of Table No. 42 which is supposed as a group of '8-9' for purposes of calculations is more than what is supposed.

Table No. 6 shows the number of members in the family according to classes. It can be seen that 'two persons' families² form 8.3 percent of all families. Among labourers they form 15.2 percent and among traders 13 percent. Families of this size are comparatively few among owners and tenants. 'Three persons' families constitute 12 percent and four persons family 16.1 percent of all families. Among the labourers more than 20 percent of the families are 'four persons' families. Among owners, traders, servants and artisans, families of this size constitute more than 15 percent of all families in their group. It is only among tenants that these form only 10.7 percent. Five persons' families are more common among tenants; they form 21 percent of all the families in their class. Among labourers though families of this size are not as common as 'four persons' families, they form 17.6 percent; among traders they form 18.5 percent and among Harijans 12.6 percent.

Families of the biggest size are more common among cultivating owners. 4.4 percent of the families among owners have a membership of 16 and more. The percentage of families having a membership of 10 or more is 17.9 among owners and only 3.3 among labourers. In the case of tenants though families of the biggest size having a membership of 16 and more are not as common as among the owners, the percentage of families having a membership of ten or more is almost the same as that among owners. Among traders there are no families having a membership of 16 and more. 88.1 percent of

1. Vide Table No. 42—above 8 is taken as '8-9' group.

2. Family may mean a household.

the families among the traders have less than 10 members each. Among artisans, families with a membership of 10 or more constitute 11.0 percent and among servants they form 11.4 percent. Harijans like owners have many families of biggest size; among them families with a membership of 16 or more form 3.01 percent. But families having membership of 12, 13, 14, or 15 are not to be found among them.

Composition of the Family

(a) **Number of Adults in the Family:**—Table No. 8 shows the composition of families. It can be seen that families with one man and one woman (with or without children) form 36.2 percent of all families. Among labourers, they account for 52.3 percent and among traders 44.6 percent. The corresponding figures for owners and tenants are low being 26.4 percent and 25.3 respectively. Next to 'one man and one woman' families, rank 'two men and one woman' (with or without children) families. They constitute 12 percent of all families. Among tenants they form 15.5 percent but among traders only 5.4 percent, 'One man and two women' (with or without children) families are also common, their percentage being 9.5 percent. Among owners they form 11.1 percent and among artisans 11.6 percent. The corresponding figures for labourers and Harijans are 8.8 percent and 8.4 percent respectively. 'Two men and two women' (with or without children) families are less common, forming 8.5 percent of all families. These families form 12 percent among tenants and 11.7 percent among servants. The percentage of these families is low among labourers, being only 4.2.

All these four kinds of families i. e. 'one man and one woman', 'two men and one woman', 'one man and two women', and 'two men and two women' together account for 66.3 percent of all families. They form 75.6 percent among labourers, 69.5 percent among artisans, 67.4 percent among traders, 66.1 percent among Harijans, 65.8 percent among servants, 63.9 percent among tenants and only 58 percent among owners.

Among owners ' three men and two women ' families form 5.9 percent, ' three men and one woman ' families, 4.6 percent and ' three men and three women ' families, 4.4 percent. Many of the families which have more than six adult males with a varying number of females and children are found among owners only.

(b) **Percentage of Children in the Family:**—Table No. 7 shows the percentage of children to the total number of members in the family in different classes. Families without children form 17.5 percent of all families. Among labourers or traders the percentage of these families is high being 22.8 percent, whereas among tenants they form only 11.6 percent. Families which have a membership of 11-20 percent of children each, constitute only 5.58 percent and those with 21-30 percent each, constitute 9.48 percent. Among servants, 14.5 percent of the families have 21-30 percent of children each. Families with a membership of 31-40 percent or 41-50 percent of children each are more common, constituting 20.5 percent and 21.7 percent respectively. Among owners 48.4 percent and among tenants 43.9 percent of the families have a membership of 31-50 percent of children. Traders have 22.8 percent of their families with a membership of 31-40 percent of children and 17.7 percent with 41-50 percent of children each, 22.8 percent of the families among labourers and 22.3 percent among Harijans have a membership of 41-50 percent of children each. The percentage of families with a membership of 51-60 percent of children each is 12. The corresponding figure for traders is only 8.7 and for artisans 17.1. Families which have a membership of 61-70 or 71-80 percent of children are few, forming 7.1 percent and 5.4 percent respectively. Percentage of families which have a membership of 61-70 percent of children form 10.9 percent among traders, 9.8 percent among tenants and 9.4 percent among artisans. But among owners they form only 4.1 percent and among servants 6.1 percent. Families with a membership of 71-80 percent of children form 10.2 percent among Harijans and only 3.6 percent among owners.

No. 15—Statement showing the average age at first marriage of all females, of females in the grand-father generation, and of females married after 1930.

Economic Class.	Of all females	Of the females in the grand-father generation.	Of the females married after 1930.
	Years	Years	Years
For the whole group	7.82	7.68	9.34
Owners	7.57	7.62	9.12
Tenants	6.57	6.25	7.85
Labourers	7.10	7.50	8.53
Traders	10.12	10.50	12.37
Artisans	7.66	7.24	9.96
Servants	8.21	10.50	10.84
Harijans	7.75	7.68	9.02

(c) **Age of females at first marriage**¹ :—Females are married at an early age. Even child-marriages are not uncommon. 4.6 percent of the girls are married before they complete their first year, and 23 percent between 1-5 years. The average age of marriage for all females is only 7.82 years. Among traders it is slightly higher, being 10.5 years. Even among them, more than 45 percent of the girls are married before they complete 10 years. The percentage of girls married between 1-10 years is the highest among the tenants, being 80 percent of that age-group. This figure for all females is 70

¹ Vide Table No. 9, 10 and 11.

percent. Thus we see that only 30 percent of girls are married when they have completed 10 years. But the percentage of those who are married after 14 years is less than 6 percent. If the 14th year be taken as the age of puberty, the number of females who are married after their puberty is very small.

Average age at first marriage of those married in the grand-father generation¹ :—The figures of average age at first marriage of those married in the grand-father generation are calculated from meagre data. Though no great reliance can be put on them, still they are useful to the extent that they suggest that the average age at the 1st marriage in grand-father generation was not very low compared to that of all the married females living at present.

Influence of the Sarda Act on the age at 1st marriage² :—Sarda Act of marriage came into force in 1930. Figures given in the last column of the statement No. 15 show that the average age at 1st marriage of those who were married after the Act came into force is 9.34 years or 1.52 years more than that of all married females. These figures and the corresponding figures for individual classes prove that the Sarda Act has not influenced the age of marriage to any great extent.

Causes of early marriage system :—It is usually said that the belief of Hindus that a girl who attains puberty before marriage invites social obloquy and eternal damnation upon the parents, is the cause of early marriage. This might be the case with the Brahmins. But with a population consisting mostly of non-Brahmans who do not subscribe to this belief, it cannot be alleged as the cause. Among these people no attempts are made to screen the unmarried girl from public view if she attains puberty. On the other hand, puberty ceremonies are observed in the same manner as in the case of married girls. This clearly points out that child marriages were not so universal in the remote past as is usually supposed.

1 Vide Table No. 10.

2 Vide Table No. 11.

This can be even interpreted as indicating the prevalence of late marriages in those days. The factors responsible for the introduction of child-marriages in the recent past seem to be, (i) the social conception of the rural people that marriage is a necessity for every grown-up adult, (ii) the excess of males in the population. Our reasons for this supposition are as follows :—

It was pointed out in the discussion on civil condition that marriage is considered a social necessity. No adult acquires the full status of a gentleman till he enters upon the state of matrimony. An unmarried adult is looked down as a loafer engaged in the seduction of married girls or a poor person who deserves the pity of others. On account of this social attitude towards the unmarried, it is the sole ambition of the unmarried adult to get himself married before anything else. When this is the attitude of the society, for 1000 of the males in the reproductive period there are only 897 women. This figure for women would be considerably low if we exclude from it females who want to remain as widows or those that want to practise prostitution ; and it would be lower still if males from 51 and above age group who intend to marry are included. Even if we suppose that there are 897 women for 1000 men, it means that 103 males cannot secure a female from the reproductive period. In other words, 103 males out of 1000 males who intend to get married must choose a girl from 1-15 age-group. Thus the high sex ratio of the males in the reproductive period indirectly gives rise to early marriages. This high sex ratio encourages early marriages in another way also. As the sex ratio of the males in the reproductive period is high, the supply of females in the same period is short of the demand for them. The prevalence of the practice of bride groom's side taking the initiative in mootting the marriage proposal is but an expression of this shortage of supply which fosters, competition among the males to secure a female. The usual forces of demand and supply operate and as the demand is greater than the supply, bride acquires money-value. Bride-price constitutes this price for the bride. Since marriage is a caste-matter bride-price varies from caste to caste. Bride-price in a particular caste is determined by the extent of short-

age of females on the one hand and the paying capacity of the 'marginal' bride-groom of the caste, on the other. But in individual cases bride-price varies according to the demand for individual girls. Generally, bride-price increases with the age of the girl to a certain limit. Greater the age, more is the bride-price demanded for her. So the poor bride-groom who cannot afford to pay more, chooses a minor girl. The parents who foresee that they would not be able to marry their son when he grows up, to a mature girl who would be a fit match for their son, marry him while still a boy to a girl a few years junior to him, as a precautionary measure. When many of the girls are married this way, few would be left for late marriages. As time rolls on, the number of people taking such precautionary measures increases on account of the economic advantage involved in it and consequently late marriages get less and less. Thus in course of time early marriages become universal. It appears that a similar process as the one described above might have been responsible for the introduction of early marriages.

Many ignore the action of the laws of demand and supply behind the system of bride-price. They allege that bride-price is only a customary payment. But they forget that no practice of payment becomes customary unless such a practice is brought into existence by some forces like those of demand and supply. Secondly no practice involving monetary expenditure continues to be customary for a long time unless the forces that gave rise to its existence continue their operation in the same way. About bride-price, we can say that it became a custom because payment for the girl became a practice on account of the shortage of girls and it has continued to be a custom because the shortage of girls still continues. It is already shown in the discussion of the sex-ratio that the sex-ratio for the whole population is tending more and more in favour of males. The study of bride-price also shows that it is on the increase. In the castes like the Kuda-Vakkala-gers¹ among whom the number of females seems to be abnormally low, the price of a bride has risen to a thousand rupees. The price

1. This caste is found in Yadwad area of Gokak Taluka.

of the 'widow-bride' has definitely exceeded the amount stipulated by custom in most of the castes. In castes like the Berads, the bride-price has exceeded the limits laid down by custom. Among the Uppars whose adherence to custom is more noticeable in some places, the bride-price has remained the same; but parents of the girl have begun to demand more costly presents, which means that the bride-groom has to pay a larger amount. All these instances stand as further evidence in support of our statement that bride-price is the result of the low sex-ratio of the females.

Difference in Age between the Bride and Bride-groom:—It can be gathered from Table No. 6 that the difference in age between the bride and the bride-groom is in some cases either undesirably small or undesirably great. In a few cases the girl-wife is even senior to her husband. 5 boys in the age-group of 1-5 are married to girls in 6-10 age-group. These persons would at the most find themselves boys when their wives would be mature women. The same may be said about 21 persons who have married girls from 1-5 age-group when they themselves have not seen five summers. This is also true of 23 persons of 6-10 age-group marrying girls of the same age-group. At the other end, we have 10 girls of 1-5 age-group married to men of 21 years and above. It is not possible to show with the meagre data we possess the effect of this too great or too small a difference between the husband and wife on the fertility of marriage. But it may be remarked that such differences in age between the husband and wife cannot be conducive to happy conjugal relations between the married couple and hence divorces become inevitable.

(iv) Fertility of the Population.

Crude birth-rate:—Birth statistics are defective in the sense that some of the births go unregistered. So the figure of total births obtained from these village records may at the most be called an understatement. Even these figures which may be in the nature of under-statements showed a crude birth-rate of 38.4 per 1000 population in 1931. The birth-rate of this year can be taken as more reliable for two reasons. It was a year free from any famine or epidemic. Again the

No. 16—Statement showing the population of Gokak Taluka, and total births and birth-rate, total deaths and death-rate and total survived and survival rate for years 1931-40.

Year	Popula- tion	Total born	Birth- rate per 1000	Total dead	Death- rate per 1000	Total survi- ved	Rate of survival per 1000 of popu- lation.
1931	145083	5569	38.40	4010	28.32	1559	10.08
1932	146642	5653	38.55	3489	23.81	2164	14.74
1933	148806	5676	38.14	4346	29.20	1330	8.94
1934	150136	4902	32.67	4945	32.95	- 43	- 3
1935	150093	4997	33.33	4166	27.77	831	5.53
1936	150924	5536	36.69	3110	20.63	2426	16.05
1937	153350	6001	39.17	2961	19.33	3040	19.84
1938	156390	5665	36.24	3758	24.04	1907	12.20
1939	158297	5868	37.10	3833	24.23	2035	12.87
1940	160332	5596	34.95	3742	23.35	1854	11.60
Total		55463		38360		17103	

No. 17—Statement showing births and deaths in 1937, and 1938 in some villages.

Name of the village.	Popula- tion in 1931	Important Castes.	Births 1937	Births 1938	Deaths 1937	Deaths 1938
Melavanki	1872	Uppar	89	89	47	43
Upparhatti	1135	Uppar	56	67	34	40
Makkalgeri	1483	Berad, Uppar	64	83	49	49
Ankalagi	2704	Berad, Muslim	118	122	51	78
Hulikatti	623	Berad	34	38	14	29

population figure of 1931 is more correct as it is based on Census enumerations taken that year only. Though the annual increase in population is taken into consideration in the calculations of birth-rates for subsequent years, no allowance is made for immigration or emigration. The statement No. 16 shows that the lowest birth-rate was in 1934; this can be attributed to death of many pregnant women due to plague epidemic of the year. For a normal year the birth-rate does not go down below 34. Statement No. 17 shows the births and deaths in certain villages in which castes like Uppars or the Berads predominate in the population. From this statement if we can roughly calculate the crude birth-rate by supposing that the population increased from 1931-36 at the same rate as it increased in 1937, we see that none of these villages had a birth-rate of less than 40 in 1937 or 1938. A statement showing the crude birth-rates in 1931 for various countries is given below to suggest by contrast the high birth-rate of this taluka.

No. 18—Statement showing crude birth-rates in different countries and Gokak in 1931.

Name of the country.	Birth-rate.
United Kingdom	15.8
Sweedeen	15.4
Average for the Western and Northern Europe	16.9
Bulgaria	31.3
Yugoslavia	33.6
India	31.1
Gokak,	38.1

General fertility rate :—Crude birth-rate is not an adequate measure of fertility since it is calculated without regard to the sex and the age composition of the population. So the better method of measuring fertility is to relate the births to the females in the reproductive period. If 16-50 be taken as the reproductive period, according to sample study 49.15 per cent of the female population is in this period. According to this basis we have 38,900¹ females in the child bearing age in the taluka for 1940; births for this year are 5596. The general fertility rate of the population would then come to 144. As the crude birth-rate for 1931-33 is higher than for 1940, the general fertility rates for those years would be considerably higher if they are calculated on the same basis. The general fertility rate for 1931 comes to 159. But even the general fertility rate of 144 of 1940 is very high when compared with 57 of England in 1931.

Births according to months —

No. 19².—Statement showing monthly births and deaths during 1931-40 and deviations from average number of births and deaths.

Month.	Births.	Deviation, from the average.	Deaths.	Deviation, from the average.
January	4235	—387	2795	—403
February	4037	—585	2223	—937
March	4900	278	2819	—379
April	4426	—196	2916	—272
May	4439	—183	3152	—46
June	4016	—606	3330	132
July	4501	—121	3527	329
August	4940	318	3508	310
September	5301	679	3593	395
October	5344	722	3684	486
November	4813	191	3539	341
December	4510	—112	3283	85
Total	55462		38369	
Average per month	4622	...	3198	...

1 Female population in 1931 was 71410-7828 females were added to the female population during 1931-40. So the female population in 1941 is 79,338 and 59.15 percent of this comes to 38,9004.

2. Vide Table No. 1 and 2.

Statement No. 19 shows that the number of births is not the same for all the months. It can be seen from Table No. 1 that some months like August, September and October have uniformly a greater number of births during 1931-40 than some others like June or January. As an explanation of this it cannot be said that fertility of a woman increases during certain months: nor can it be claimed that there exists among human beings a definite 'breeding season' as there is among dogs. But it can be pointed out that in the rural areas frequency of intercourse is not uniform for all the months. The months of April and May are so hot that the married couple prefer to sleep apart in the open. On the other hand the cold of December and January induce the couple to sleep snugly together. It appears more probable that this variation in the frequency of intercourse is the cause of the variation in births. Decrease in frequency of intercourse during April and May decreases the chances of the woman getting pregnant during these months or the chances of delivery nine months later, that is, in January and February. So we have fewer births in these two months. In a similar manner increase in the frequency of intercourse during the cold season increases the chances of pregnancy in December and January or those of delivery in the months of August and September. The decrease in births in June is probably due to decrease in the frequency of intercourse during October-November when the husband and wife are very busy with the Khariff harvest.

Fertility of marriage:—Out of 1548¹ married females in the reproductive period 17 percent are childless. But nearly 67 percent of these childless females belong to 16-20 age-group. Many of the childless women between 16-20 are those who have not lived with their husbands. Among the married females of 21-30 age-group less than 11 percent have not borne any children. The percentage of childless women decreases to 5.2 in 31-40 age-group and further to 2.9 percent in 41-46 age-group. A statement showing the average number of children born to married females in different age-groups is given below.

1. Vide Table No. 12.

No. 20.—Statement showing the average number of children born to married females in different age-groups.

Age-group.	Average children born.	Age-group	Average no. of children born.
16-20	.88	36-40	5.9*
21-25	2.4	41-45	7.2*
26-30	4.4	46-50	6.1*
31-35	4.4	above 50	5.2*
		for all	3.26

It can be seen from the statement that the average number of children born per woman in the quinquennial age-groups increases till 41-45 age-group. In the 46-50 age-group this number falls. To what extent the fall is real cannot be known. Because this fall can be partly attributed to the draw-back in the statistical devices used in calculating the average. The average number of children born per married woman is 3.26.

Duration of Marriage and Children Born:—Table No. 13 shows duration of married life and children born. Out of 1563 women who are living with their husbands 245 or 15.7 percent are childless. Out of these 245 childless women, 178 or 68 percent are those who have lived with their husbands for a period varying from a year to five years only. Out of 530 women who have lived with their husbands for 1-5 years, 33.6 percent are childless. Among females who have lived with their husbands for 5-10 years the percentage of childless is only 8.6. This figure is only 7.8 among females who have lived

* For calculating the average, the group of 'above 8' (Vide Table No. 12) is taken as 9 only. So the averages we have for the age-groups of 36-40 and other higher ones are considerably lower than the real ones as many women might be having more than 9 children.

for 11-15 years and 2.8 among those who have lived for 16-20 years.

The average number of children born to women who have lived with their husbands for 1-5 years is 1.06; to those who have lived for 6-10 years it is 2.82; to those who have lived for 11-15 years it is 4.18; to those who have lived for 16-20 years, it is 5.41; and to those who have lived for over 20 years it is 6.5.¹ Thus we see that the number of children born to a woman increases with the number of years lived with the husband.

The average number of children born per year of married life to women who have lived for 1-5 years is .42. It is .37 to those who have lived for 6-10 years; .33 to those who have lived for 11-15 years; and .31 to those who have lived for 16-20 years. Thus we see that the average number of children born per year of married life decreases as the number of years lived with the husband increases.

Death-rate:—Death-rate varies from 19.33 per 1000 population in 1937 to 32.95 in 1934. The range of variation is wider in the case of death-rates than in that of birth-rates as the former is dependent upon factors like famine and epidemics. But in a normal year like that of 1931 the death-rate is 28.32. This rate is very high when compared to that of other countries. In a year of epidemic, the death-rate is always very high—higher than the birth-rate. The decrease in population during 1890-1901 suggests that during this period the death-rates were higher than the birth-rates. The average death-rate for 1931-40 is 26.36 for 1000 of population.

Deaths according to Months:—From the statement No. 19 it can be seen that death-rates are high in the months when birth-rates are also high. This is due to the greater mortality of the new born babies. But in the months of June and July the deaths are more than the average number of deaths though births are fewer than the average number of births. This can be attributed to prevalence of diseases like cholera and malaria engendered by the change in weather and the muddy drinking water during these months.

1. Vide footnote to statement No. 20.

No. 21— Statement showing the average number of children dying and surviving for varying number of children born.

Children born	Average number of children dying	Average number of children surviving
1	.16	.84
2	.47	1.53
3	.77	2.23
4	1.09	2.91
5	1.51	3.49
6	1.95	4.05
7	2.48	4.52
8	2.82	5.18
average 3.26	average 1.12	average 2.14

Table No. 14 co-relates the number of children dead to the number of children born. Out of 253 women who had a child each, only 17 percent have lost their children. In other words, in the case of 83 percent of women who had a child each, the child born has survived. Percentage of women who have all the children surviving, decreases with the number of children born. In the case of 247 women who had two children each, 60 percent have all their children surviving; percentage of women who have all their children surviving decreases to 45.4 percent in the case of women who have three children each; to 23.7 percent in the case of those who had four children each; to 16.7 percent in the case of those who had five children each; 8.2 percent in the case of those who had seven children each; and to 1.9 percent in the case of those who had more than 9 children each.

Statement No. 21 shows the average number of children dying and surviving for varying number of children born. It

can be seen that the percentage of children dying increases with the number of children born. Average number of children dying is $\cdot 16$ when the number of children born is 1. It is $\cdot 47$ when the number of children born is 2 and $2\cdot 82$ when the number of children born is 8. Out of $3\cdot 26$ children born to a woman on an average $1\cdot 12$ children die and $2\cdot 14$ children survive on an average.

CHAPTER III

Rural Wealth.

Explanatory notes on the terms and method used :—

- (a) *Area of land owned* :—Only the area of land actually owned by the family is noted down. Land cultivated by a person in lieu of interest on a loan advanced is excluded but income from it is credited to his income and the amount lent is included in savings. But in cases when the person is having usufructuary mortgage for a certain period in lieu of the loan, the area of land so used is included. Lands owned by others but cultivated by the self are not included. The lands of the undivided family some of whose members are staying outside but have a claim to the land, are shared, and only the share of the person in question is taken down. Lands in dispute as regards ownership are not included.

Many of the villagers find it difficult to give one figure which stands for the area of land owned by them; so it is found more convenient to ask the area of each kind of soil owned by the family. Some of the people cannot give the area in acres: They say that their lands is of two days' sowing or one where a thousand sugar cane seeds can be sown. Such primitive measurements are changed into acre measurements by approximation in consultation with the more intelligent villagers.

- (b) *Price of land* :—Price of land is one of the most difficult things to determine as there is nothing like reigning or equilibrium prices of land. Perfect competition which is taken as a matter of fact in Economics is completely absent in the transactions of land. Person who wants to sell, fails to get a good customer and finally has to dispose of it for a very low amount. On the other hand, quite a number of people who want to buy land find that

land-owners can be persuaded to part with their land, only for a big amount. The difficulty before the student of rural economics is, should the low amount for which the needy owner is prepared to sell be taken as the price of land or the high amount which the eager buyer is ready to give be taken as such? Owing to many practical difficulties involved, it was not possible to determine value of land owned by individual families. For the purpose of calculating wealth in land of families under study, Rs. 50 is taken as the value of land paying one rupee revenue. It is to be remembered that calculations made on this basis cannot claim to be very accurate.

- (c) *House* :—This term includes residence of the family, cattle shed, store-house, shop or any other building owned by the family.
- (d) *Live stock* :—This term includes domesticated animals of all description which have money value.
- (e) *Region* :—The names of regions are given elsewhere. But a village does not always belong to one region only. For example, there is not a single village, the whole area of which is under irrigation. Still a village is termed as irrigated if the majority of the people earn their bread directly or indirectly from irrigated land. So when a village belongs to more than one region, it is grouped under a region the characteristics of which it bears more prominently than those of any other.

Non-irrigated villages are further classified as :

- i. Poor
- ii. The rest,

- (f) *Utensils* :—To a rural family a water-pot made of brass or copper is a necessary thing. Those who say that they do not possess a water pot cannot be expected to have utensils worth more than Rs. 5. When the person said that he had a water pot, he was next asked whether he had a 'Hande' or water

storing or heating pot. Those who have a 'Hande' can be fairly supposed to own utensils worth Rs. 15. Those who owned more than a 'Hande' were asked to give the worth of all the utensils they owned.

- (g) *Savings* :—This term includes savings in cash and gold. Even petty ornaments of silver are included in the calculations in the following way. It is supposed that the minimum value of the ornaments which even the poorest woman possesses is Rs. 10. A family consisting of three women is supposed to possess ornaments of Rs. 30. As regards costly ornaments and other savings or hoarding in cash or gold, information was obtained in most of the cases from persons other than the persons concerned as the latter are not likely to state the facts.

What is Wealth :—Economists do not seem to agree on the definition of wealth. Some like Prof. Gide use this term in a broad sense to mean "anything of the nature to satisfy an economic desire".¹ On the other hand, some others like J. S. Mill use the term in a restricted sense. But many of the economists like Marshal and Ely use the term in two senses—personal wealth and social wealth. The definition of wealth given by Seligman is more in harmony with the usage of every-day life. According to him, "Since modern society is based on the interchange of possessions.....wealth is now-a-days anything that can be exchanged." So personal wealth can be said to consist of all those commodities which are exchangeable and which can be turned into private property. In popular parlance personal wealth and personal property are synonymous terms.

Constituents of Wealth:—Property of the rural man usually consists of :

- i. Some lands ;
- ii. Some live-stock ;
- iii. A house ;
- iv. Some utensils ;
- v. Savings, if any.

1. Pa. 41, Archibald's edition of Gide's Political Economy.

These may also be called the constituents of his wealth.

Amount of Total Wealth of Family:—From table No. 21 we can roughly calculate the amount of total wealth of rural families. By supposing that a rupee of land revenue represents Rs. 50 of wealth in land and employing usual statistical devices, we can get the following statement showing the classification of families according to the amount of their total wealth.

Table No. 22—**Statement showing the classification of families according to wealth groups.**

Economic Class.	Wealth groups in rupees			Total families.
	1-500	501-200	above 200	
Owners	67 (17·4 p. c.)	215 (55·7 p. c.)	104 (26·6 p. c.)	386
Tenants	95 (42·2 p. c.)	101 (44·9 p. c.)	29 (12·9 p. c.)	225
Labourers	281 (85·4 p. c.)	48 (14·6 p. c.)	...	329
Traders	43 (46·9 p. c.)	33 (25·9 p. c.)	16 (17·4 p. c.)	92
Artisans	88 (46·6 p. c.)	77 (42·6 p. c.)	16 (8·8 p. c.)	161
Servants	66 (50·4 p. c.)	43 (32·8 p. c.)	22 (16·8 p. c.)	131
Harijans	160 (96·4 p. c.)	6 (2·4 p. c.)	...	166
All	340 (52·7 p. c.)	562 (35·3 p. c.)	190 (11·9 p. c.)	1592

From the statement No. 22 we see that the largest bulk of the Harijan families, all but 2·4 p. c. of them fall in the category of the lowest wealth group. They have none in the highest wealth group. The labourers too have no families in

the group of above Rs. 2000. They have 85.4 p. c. of their families in the lowest group only. Only 17.4 p. c. of owners are in this wealth group. 11.9 p. c. of families are in the highest wealth group. The percentage of families in this group is the largest among the owners, being 26.9 p. c. Traders come second with 17.4 percent and tenants, the third with 12.9 percent.

No. 23—Statement showing the average amount of total wealth* and its details, per family according to economic classes.

Economic Class.	The average amount of wealth in rupees per family.					Average amount of total wealth per family.
	in ¹ land	in live-stock	in House	in Ut-ensils	in Sav-ings	
Owners	1050	174	350	32	155	1711
Tenants	320	148	243	19	85	815
Labourers	105	28	84	11	47	275
Traders	240	35	299	43	531	1148
Artisans	235	34	197	22	168	656
Servants	605	62	235	28	217	1147
Harijans	95	19	67	7	23	211
All	425	88	230	21	161	925

*Average Amount of Total wealth per Family:—*Statement No. 23 shows that the average amount of total wealth per family is Rs. 925. The average amount of total wealth per

* Vide Tables 17, 18, 19, 23.

(1) Average amount of wealth in land is calculated from the average amount of land revenue paid by supposing that a rupee of land revenue represents Rs. 50 of wealth in land.

Harijan family is the lowest being only 211 and that of a labourer's family is only Rs. 64 more than that for Harijans. With the owners, the average amount of total wealth per family is the largest being Rs. 1711 or nearly seven times as much as that for labourers. Traders and servants have almost the same average amount of total wealth per family. The average amount of total wealth per family of tenants is 815 or nearly half of that of owners. Artisans have Rs. 656 as the average amount of total wealth per family.

Average Amount of Total wealth per Capita:—The average amount of wealth per capita¹ is Rs. 157. This figure is the lowest for the Harijans, being Rs. 35 only. On account of the smaller number of members per family, the average amount of wealth per capita among labourers is $\frac{1}{7}$ times greater than that among Harijans, though the average amount of wealth per family among labourers is only $\frac{2}{7}$ times greater than that among Harijans. The average amount of wealth per capita for owners is Rs. 263 which is less than five times that for labourers, whereas the average amount of wealth per family among owners is more than six times that among labourers. The average amount of wealth per capita for other classes is Rs. 195 for servants, Rs. 211 for traders, Rs. 122 for tenants and Rs. 111 for artisans.

A Wealth in land.

i. *Importance of land:*—Land constitutes an important item of personal wealth of rural families. The average amount of wealth in land per family is Rs. 425 or 46 p. c. of the average amount of total wealth per family. It constitutes 61 p. c. in the case of owners, and 53 p. c. in the case of servants, of the average amount of total wealth per family of that group. In rural areas a family takes its social position according to its relation to land. Land lends both status and credit to the family, which increase with the area owned. Again, investment in land is safer and comparatively more paying for a longer

1. Average amount of wealth per capita is obtained by dividing the average amount of wealth per family by the average number of members per family of that group.

period of time than in anything else. So all the rural classes excepting a few, invest in land all they can spare. Land owners always strive to buy more and more of land. To be a land-owner is the sole ambition of the labourer when once he is married. It is only the non-agricultural artisans like the weavers that do not go in for land even when they can afford. The reason for this is that as they are more liable to distress in times of famine, they must hold themselves in readiness to migrate at any time. So they do not invest in immoveable property like land. Secondly by the very nature of their occupation they are unfit for agricultural life.

ii. *Area of land owned* :—Table No. 15¹ shows the area of land owned by different classes. It can be seen that 25.9 p. c. of the families have no land at all. The percentage of the land-less is the greatest among the artisan class. The reason for this is given above. In spite of all their efforts to be land-owners, 38.9 p. c. of the labourers are still landless. Large holdings are owned only by cultivating owners, 9.6 p. c. of whom own above 50 acres.

iii. *Average size of the holding per family* :—From Table No. 15 we can roughly calculate the average size of the holding. The cultivating owners have an average holding of 22.5 acres; servants 17.7; traders, 7.5; tenants, 6.5; labourers, 3.3; Harijans 2.5; average size of the holding per family on an average is 10.26. It is significant that the average holding for Gokak Taluka as given in the statistical Atlas of 1925, is 10.2.

The size of the holding per family is not a good measure of wealth in land, as one acre of land is not equal to another in value. An acre of irrigated land may fetch a greater amount than 4 acres of grass-land. So the classification of families according to the area of land owned is meaningless and even misleading. To give an instance, the lands of the Bengal Delta are so fertile that the economic holding suggested for the area by Prof. Panandikar in his book *Wealth and Welfare of Bengal Delta* is 2.4 acres. Even Harijans of Gokak have a holding of 2.5 acres. Does it mean that Harijans of

1. Vide appendix of tables.

Gokak have an economic holding?—far from it. On the other hand, the holdings of most of the Harijans are useless for cultivation, as they are the grass land reclaimed from the forest area.

iv. *Land revenue paid* :—Rightly considered, the land revenue paid by the family is a better indicator of its land-wealth than the area owned. The Table No. 16 shows the classification of families according to the land revenue paid. Statement No. 24 presents Table No. 16 in a condensed form.

No. 24 :—Statement showing the classification of families according to the amount of land revenue paid.

Economic Class	Percentage distribution of families according to land revenue paid in rupee groups.			
	0	1-10	11-20	21
Owners	...	43.8	23.1	33.1
Tenants	16.9	68.4	11.1	3.5
Labourers	38.9	59.0	1.8	.3
Traders	36.9	50.0	9.7	3.3
Artisans	49.2	43.1	5.0	2.7
Servants	27.5	42.0	14.5	16.0
Harijans	37.3	60.8	1.8	...
All	26.1	53.0	10.4	10.5

The statement No. 24 shows that there are 33.1 p. c. among owners, who pay more than Rs. 21 as land revenue. On the other hand there are hardly 2 p. c. among the labourers or Harijans who pay more than Rs. 10. Among tenants the percentage of families who pay more than Rs. 10, is 14.6 and that among traders is 13.

The average amount of land revenue paid per family is Rs. 8.5 ; that paid by an owner is Rs. 21 and that by a tenant is Rs. 6.4 per family. Labourers whose average holding is half that of tenants, pay only Rs. 2.1 on an average. Traders whose average holding is $\frac{1}{3}$ rd that of owners, pay only Rs. 4.8 on an average. Servants whose size of the holding is 17.7 acres as against 6.5 acres of that of tenants, pay Rs. 12.1 as against Rs. 6.4 paid by the tenants. The average amount of land revenue paid per family by Harijans is 1.9.

(B) Wealth in Live-stock.

The average worth of livestock owned per family is Rs. 88 ; 27.5 p. c. of families own live-stock worth more than Rs. 100, and 11.8 p. c. own live-stock worth more than Rs. 200.

From Table No. 17 it may be seen that 80 p. c. of the families have some kind of live-stock. This is because of the manifold uses of live-stock which are :—

(i) *Livestock is productive* :—It helps the cultivator to raise the crop.

(ii) *It is conducive to social status*—In villages the status of the cultivator is measured by the number of bullocks he owns. A family having the status of 4 bullocks tries to have matrimonial relations, only with a family of like status

(iii) *It is nutritive* :—Cow, she-buffalo, and goat give nutrition to its owner in the form of milk and its products.

(iv) *It is lucrative*—As a side-occupation rearing of live-stock is second to none. A reference will be made to this in the chapter on rural income.

(v) *It is a reserve fund* :—Live-stock constitutes a sort of reserve fund to the cultivator who can, at any time, exchange it for money, whenever he is in need. Agriculturists whenever they have some cash, they go to the cattle market and purchase some kind of live-stock. On the other hand, whenever they are in need, they go to the market again and sell a bull or buffalo. They find it more profitable to invest in cattle than depositing in the bank.

The kinds of livestock raised and the purpose of raising them differ greatly from class to class; so also the worth of live-stock owned.

i. *Owners* :—Bulls and bullocks are maintained by cultivating owners for cultivating their lands only. Cows are tended mainly for bulls, though its milk is sometimes consumed. She buffaloes are also reared by the owners who consume the greater part of the milk yielded by them. On the whole, owners tend different kinds of live-stock. The value of live-stock owned by owners is also great. The average worth of livestock owned is Rs. 174 per family; 26 p. c. of the families among the owners have livestock worth Rs. 200 and more. The cultivating owners of the irrigated region are richer in live-stock as they have to maintain stronger bulls to irrigate the lands. But the cultivators of the forest region are the poorest in live-stock.

ii. *Tenants* :—Tenants also own bullocks but they are not as sturdy as those of owners. As tenants cannot always depend upon income from land, they offer their bullocks for hire. She-buffaloes are also tended by the tenants, who unlike the owners sell most of the milk yielded by them. Cows and goats are also sometimes reared by tenants. But the worth of the livestock owned by tenants is considerably less than that of owners. The worth of live-stock owned on an average by a tenant family is Rs. 148. There is none among the tenants who owns livestock worth Rs. 701 and above. Percentage of those who own live-stock worth more than Rs. 300 is 7.1 among tenants as against 14.5 among owners.

iii. *Servants* :—Though the average area of the holding of the servants is only next to that of owners, the worth of livestock of the servants is disproportionately less. The p. c. of the landless among the servants is 27.4; but the p. c. of those who have no livestock is 42.7. The reason for this is that many of the servants who are land-owners are not cultivators of their land. They find it more profitable to lease out the land. Only some of the Patils and Kulkarnis get the lands cultivated under their own supervision. If we exclude these persons, none among the servants buys any bulls. Cows

are not also reared by many. Some maintain a she-buffalo for using the milk for domestic consumption. The poorer servants tend a goat or two. Most of the 68 p. c. of the servants who own livestock worth Rs. 1-10 are those who have satisfied themselves with the ownership of a goat. On an average, servants own livestock worth Rs. 62 per family. The average amount of livestock per family among servants constitutes only 5.5 p. c. of the average amount of total wealth.

iv. *Labourers* :—Among the labourers, bulls are owned only by those of the river-inundated region, who purchase the bulls, feed them for a season or two and then sell it at a profit. The kind of the livestock reared by the labourers is the goat ; because it can be had for a meagre amount and can be tended without much expense. They drink its milk, sell its kids, and finally—in many cases kill it and eat its flesh. Very few of the labourers keep a she-buffalo for the exclusive purpose of making money out of its milk or its products. The percentage of those who own no livestock is 25.8 and those who own more than Rs. 100 worth is 2.8 The worth of livestock owned by labourers is Rs. 28 on an average per family.

v. *Traders* :—Traders like the servants find it more convenient to hand over the cultivation of their lands to some tenant. So they need no bullocks. Again because of their business, they do not find time to look after cattle. So we see that 43.4 p. c. of the traders own no livestock at all and the average worth of livestock owned per family is Rs. 35 or 3 p. c. of the average amount of total wealth.

vi. *Artisans* :—For the same reasons, among the artisans also 34.2 p. c. have bought no livestock and very few own livestock worth more than Rs. 200. The worth of livestock owned on an average is Rs. 34 per family.

vii. *Harijans* :—Harijans are poor in livestock because of their limited means. Many of them tend a calf or two belonging to a land-lord on the understanding that they are to be paid half the price when it is sold or returned to the owner, 31.9 p. c. of the Harijans own no livestock and the average worth of livestock owned per family is Rs. 19.

(C) Wealth in house.

House is almost a necessity for many reasons. It is deemed as one of the factors contributing to social status. To be a man of high status one should have not only a large holding and many bullocks but also a large and spacious building. None can acquire a *locus standi* in village matters unless he is the owner of a house. Besides, house is a necessity for other things also viz. :—

i. for dwelling, ii. for housing cattle, iii. for storing the produce. To a rural man, house is a residence, cattle-shed and go-down combined in one. Some families have a separate building for cattle, but the number of such families is small.

From the Table No. 18 it can be seen that in the whole area nearly 10.3 p. c. of the families are houseless. In other words, one family in every ten cannot afford to have a house in spite of all its attempts to have one. Such families live in the houses given free by the local landlord, in the house of those who have migrated from the village, or in a spare house or cattle shed of a big cultivator. In many cases no rent is charged the condition being that the person residing is to keep the house in good order. But in other cases rent varying from a few annas to a rupee per month is charged. Only in the village of Shindikurabet which is just near the Gokak mills and in that of Mudalaji, a centre of cattle trade, the rents are higher. The percentage of rent payers is the greatest among the servants, 19 p. c. of whom have no houses of their own. Among the labourers the percentage of the houseless is as high as 16.7. Percentage of the houseless is also large among the Harijans. It is only among the owners that the number of houseless is very small. About tenants also, it cannot be said that the p. c. of the houseless is large. Leaving out families that have no house, we see that 20 p. c. of the population live in houses worth about Rs. 1-5-0 each. A building of so low a value can be better called a hut. 62.6 p. c. of Harijans and 29.7 p. c. of labourers live in such huts. Those who live in buildings worth Rs. 200 and above form less than 30 p. c. of all families.

The average worth of houses owned by a rural family is Rs. 230. Those owned by a family of cultivating owners are worth Rs. 350 on the average. The average worth of houses owned by Harijan family is Rs. 67 only and that by labourers is Rs. 84. Traders have houses which are worth Rs. 299 on an average. The average worth of houses owned by tenants is Rs. 243.

Overcrowding :—From what is said just above, an idea of overcrowding can be formed. It is not possible to have a three-room house for less than Rs. 200 particularly because of high price¹ of the open space in 'gavthan' or the village proper. Nearly 70 p. c. of the families live in houses worth Rs. 300 and less, that is, in houses which have not even three rooms. To put it the other way, most of the families live in one or two-rooms tenements. In this small building they have to keep their live-stock and store the produce. Practically no separate room remains for sleeping or for receiving the guests. On account of this, all the children of the family are to be huddled together in the same bed and married people have to share a common room with the unmarried.

(D) Wealth in Utensils.

Table No. 20 shows the classification of families according to the worth of the utensils owned. It can be seen that 35.2 p. c. of the families own utensils worth less than Rs. 11. Those who own utensils worth Rs. 30 and above is less than 20 p. c. The average worth of the utensils owned per family is Rs. 21. Corresponding figures for different classes are, for traders Rs. 43, for owners Rs. 32, for servants Rs. 28, for artisans Rs. 22, for tenants Rs. 19, for labourers Rs. 11 for Harijans Rs. 7.

(E) Wealth in Savings.

It was pointed out that the cultivating owners or tenants invest the cash they have in live-stock or in land, if the amount is sufficiently large. Labourers only, hoard their cash

1. All villagers have a tendency to build the house in the village proper. The area of the village proper is limited but the increase in population and the growth of individualistic tendencies has increased the demand for sites to erect houses. So the value of the open space has increased.

to meet the expenses of a future social ceremony. Hoarding habit is also noticed among most of the artisan classes. It is difficult to persuade them to keep their savings in a bank. Firstly, they are doubtful as regards the stability of banks. Then the procedure of depositing and withdrawing appears very complicated to them. But the most important reason is that they are afraid that their savings may be known to the public.

Savings in gold or other valuable metals in the form of ornaments can be found with many families. Few are the families which have absolutely no ornaments. This is because,

- i. Ornaments are considered a social necessity.

Some articles like 'Mangala-sutra', the ear and nose ornament and waist-belt, even the poorest woman who is married is expected to possess.

- ii. Ornaments have the quality to exhance the beauty of the wearer. So women have a proverbial craze for them.

- iii. Ornaments increase the social status—in the female circle, the wealth of a woman or that of her husband is measured by the value of the ornaments worn by the woman. So women of richer classes wear more ornaments just to show off their economic superiority.

- iv. Ornaments act as provident fund.

Old women, particularly widows, turn all their assets into gold ornaments as they consider them as the only form of safe investment. Hoarding in gold ornaments is a tendency which is very prominent among weavers and some of the traders.

Average amount of wealth in savings per family is Rs. 161. It is the highest in the case of traders, being Rs. 531. In their case it forms nearly half the average amount of total wealth per family in their group. Average amount of wealth in savings per family in the case of servants is Rs. 217 and that in the case of artisans is Rs. 168.

Table No. 23 shows that 54.8 p. c. of the families have savings of less than Rs. 50. Really speaking this amount cannot be called savings in the sense that it cannot be availed

of to meet any expenditure, as it represents [the money value of petty ornaments which are not to be sold off. So savings 'of less than 50' are not included in the calculation of the average amount of wealth in savings. In the case of owners, tenants and servants who have a larger number of females per family than in any other class, even savings worth Rs. 51-200 can be supposed as representing in part, the ornaments which cannot be dispensed with. Considered this way, the percentage of families among owners who have savings worth the name (i. e. above Rs. 200) is 20·2. Even in the case of these 20·2 p. c. of the families, those that have hard cash are few and so these savings as they are mostly in the form of ornaments which ordinarily women are not ready to part with cannot be capitalized. Wealth of tenants in savings are smaller than that of owners. There are only 5·4 p. c. of families whose wealth in savings exceeds Rs. 400. Wealth of labourers in savings is very meagre—71·1 p. c. of families have savings of less than Rs. 50 and only 4·8 p. c., more than Rs. 200. Wealth of Harijans in savings is negligible : there are only 1·2 p. c. of families who have savings of more than Rs. 200.

The percentage of families who have savings of more than Rs. 400 is more in the case of traders and servants. 16·3 p. c. of families among traders have savings of more than Rs. 1000 and there are only 9·8 p. c. of families who have savings of less than Rs. 50. Among servants 26·5 p. c. have savings of more than Rs. 400.

APPENDIX IV

Rural Income

Introduction :—There is hardly any difference of opinion among economists as regards the term, family income. Family income is usually taken as the net income of the family. But indistinctness still envelopes the line that divides net income of a family from its gross income. Difference is particularly more marked in the methods used in calculating family income from land. It is necessary therefore to explain the method used here in this connection.

When the land was 'jirayat' or dry crop one, the cultivator was asked to give the produce of the important crop grown by him. The amount that he received for that produce if he had sold it was taken down. If he had not sold the produce or a part of it, was changed into its money's worth according to the prices ruling on 1-1-1940, in order to maintain a uniform basis. Cereals grown by him by 'akdi'¹ method, that is, as a mixed crop were not computed. From the amount so obtained land revenue and expenses on manure were deducted. In the case of tenants rent paid instead of land revenue or both as the case may be were deducted.

In respect of irrigated lands inquiries into the details of the cost of production were made. Then from the gross income an amount equal to the depreciation and maintenance charges of bullocks was deducted. This deduction was considered necessary because:—(i) bullocks wear out soon, (ii) irrigated lands mostly grow commercial crops which yield no fodder which the cultivator has to buy to feed his bullocks, (iii) bullocks are engaged on the farm all the year round and cannot be plied for hire. Expenses on manure were also deducted from the gross income. Land revenue and irrigation cess were also deducted. The amount obtained after making all these deductions was taken as the income

1. So much of cereals are grown by a cultivator as a mixed crop as is required for domestic consumption.

from land. This figure was further checked up by local inquiries.

Implications of the method:—i. In the case of 'jirayat' lands expenses on the maintenance and depreciation of bullocks, or expenses on ploughing, harrowing or hoeing are not included on the expenditure side. On the other hand, income from fodder, chaff, or grass is not included on the income-side. Usually no cultivator buys the things he feeds his bullocks with and a person who cannot produce sufficient fodder does not buy bullocks at all. Roughly speaking, expenses on the maintenance of bullocks and income from grass, fodder and chaff cancel each other and so neither of them is included in the calculations.

ii. Depreciation of bullocks is not debited; and the income from bulls born at home is not credited, as the two cancel each other.

iii. Expenses on seeds, sowing and weeding are not entered on the debit side; and the income from cereals grown as a mixed crop and vegetables are not entered on the income-side.

iv. Expenses on reaping are not included as reapers are paid in kind and

v. Similarly expenses on the repair of implements are not included as they are also paid in kind and that the figure of the total produce is given by the cultivator after making all these deductions.

vi. Expenditure on implements is not included as the wood used for most of the implements is invariably obtained from one's own field.

Thus the figure obtained by this method is not gross income because,

- i. it does not include income from cereals, fodder, vegetables etc.
- ii. -do- -do- „ the produce paid in kind to reapers and hereditary artisans.

- iii. it does not include income from indirect benefit accrued to the farmer from his farm.

It is not net income because,

- i. Deductions are not made for the labour of the family members.
- ii. „ „ „ for the free services of the relatives.
- iii. „ „ „ for maintenance and depreciation of cattle and manure produced at home and used on the farm.
- iv. Deductions are not made for the interest on the capital outlay.
- v. „ „ „ for profit or payment for the organizational ability of the cultivator.

Thus the figure so obtained constitutes : i. Wages for labour of the family. ii. Rent on his land (if he is a cultivating owner). iii. Interest for his capital investment in livestock, manure etc., iv. Remuneration for his organizational ability ; and this figure coincides with what the rural people call 'income' from land.

Factors influencing family income--Factors that influence family income are many and vary from class to class and from family to family in the same class.

i. *Owners* :—Family income of a cultivating owner for any year mainly depends upon his income from land which in its turn is dependent upon innumerable factors the most important of which are the quality of the soil, season and prices. Natural region has also much influence on the income of cultivating owners. The owners of the irrigated region have

usually larger income, as the commercial crops grown by them are more paying.

ii. *Tenants* :—As regards tenants the rental system is an additional factor. Region has no special influence on the income of tenants who are charged rents according to the fertility of the soil. But nearness of forests or market places are definitely factors that contribute to the income of the tenants by affording them opportunities to offer their cart and bullocks for hire.

iii. *Labourers* :—Income of labourers depends upon numerous factors. The rate of wages and the period of employment available are the two important ones. In the irrigated region where the wages are higher and the period of employment longer, and labourers are better off than those in the non-irrigated region. In the forest region where employment in the forests is available the economic condition of labourers is not as bad as in non-irrigated regions. Availability of a side occupation for children in the inundated region is a distinct economic advantage which labourers of that region enjoy over those of others.

Then in the same village the following factors influence the family income and also account for the difference in the incomes of labourers of the same locality :

i. The nature, habits and health, of the person—a labourer of meek nature, robust health, and active habits stands better chances of continuous employment. ii. Skill—a skilled labourer can take the work on contract basis and earn more wages. iii. Matrimonial connections—a labourer having connections with a big land-owner can expect a longer period of employment. iv. Caste—Some castes like the Lingayat and the Reddis are preferred to others, Harijans are not usually employed as they are not considered fit labourers. v. Extent of contribution to family income by the wife—Usually the wife of a labourer, also goes out for work. But confinement comes in the way of her going to work for some time in a year or once in a few years. If there are frequent pregnancies and deliveries the wife's earnings are seriously curtailed and so also those of the family.

iv. *Traders* :—Income of traders depends upon—i. The amount of trade—which depends upon the capital of the trader, variety of articles kept, confidence of the people enjoyed by him and the population of the area. ii. Margin of profit he gets—which depends upon number of local shops and the nature of competition among them. The traders in villages in the interior can charge higher rates as there is less of competition and the people cannot know the latest prices unless they go to the market which is far off. iii. System of exchange—barter system is more profitable to the traders as the illiterate customers cannot easily calculate whether they have been paid the due exchange value. iv. System of transaction—Transaction on credit is profitable when the amount is likely to be realised. v. Caste—as trade has become the monopoly of some castes, a new entrant finds it difficult to compete with caste-traders.

v. *Artisans* :—(a) the income of the hereditary artisans receiving dues depends upon—

i. The number of clients and their economic position ;
 ii. The nature of the harvest—as they are sharers of harvest, if the harvest is good, they also get a good share. (b) The income of weavers depends upon the working capacity of the weaver, his acquired skill in weaving finer fabrics, and the rates of wages. (c) Goldsmiths and Tailors—just like traders (see above) : (d) Vaddars or stone-cutters—just like labourers.

vi. *Servants* :—(a) The superior servants—their income depends upon.

i. Their pay or the fertility of the lands they have been given for their services ; ii. amount of bribes they get.

(b) *Inferior servants*—i. Just like labourers. ii. Tips, if any.

vii *Harijans* :—Their income depends upon—i. The amount of dues they get in return for their free services ;
 ii. Scope for other forms of employment.

Size of Family-Income.

No. 25 :—Statement showing average income per family and the income group of the majority¹ of families according to economic classes.

Economic Class	Average income per family in rupees	Income group of majority of families in rupees
Owners	296	101—300
Tenants	198	51—200
Labourers... ..	118	51--150
Traders	258	151—300
Artisans	239	101—300
Servants	276	101—400
Harijans	172	51—200
All	216	101—300

Average income per family is Rs. 216. The corresponding figure for owners is the highest being Rs. 296. It can be seen from Table No. 24 that in the higher income groups of Rs. 501 and above, families of owners' class are more numerous than those of any other one. The servants stand next to owners in respect of the largeness of average income per family. Though traders stand third with an average income of Rs. 258 per family, their number is second to none in the highest income-group of Rs. 1000 and above. Moreover they have 65·4 p. c. of their families in the income group of Rs. 151-300. Labourers and Harijans bear a striking contrast to traders in respect of distribution of families in income-groups. There are no families of labourers in the income-group of Rs. 501 and

1. More than 50 p. c.—Vide table No. 24.

those of Harijans in the income group of Rs. 601 and above. The average income per family of labourers is the lowest being only Rs. 118, 71·3 p.c. of families of this class are in the income group of Rs. 51-150, 45·3 p. c. of the families have an income below Rs. 100.

Per Capita Income :—Total income of a family does not indicate its economic condition as is generally supposed. To give an example, a big family of 20 members having an income of Rs. 1000 is in no way richer than a family of 6 persons having an income of Rs. 300 only. To suppose that higher income group reflects better economic condition of the families in that group is grossly inaccurate. Even families in the same income-group may not have the same economic condition. Futility of showing the economic condition of families by their total income or by grouping them in income-groups can be well illustrated by Table No. 25. Out of 268 families of 51-100 income-group, 14 families each, made up of one member only, are decidedly better off than 61 families of the same income-group which are made up of two members each. These 14 families are also better off than 355 families of 101-150 income-groups, which are made up of three or more members each.

The better way of indicating the economic condition of families is by relating their total income to the members in the family. In other words classification of families according to per capita income is the better way of showing their economic position.

It can be seen from Statement No. 26 that the average income per capita is Rs. 38, 20·2 p. c. of the families have a per capita income of above Rs. 50 and 28·7 p. c. below Rs. 25. Though traders are next to owners and servants in respect of largeness of family income they stand first as far as the average per capita income in the family is concerned. In the highest per capita income-group of Rs. 51 and above only the traders have as large a percentage of families as 40·2. On the other hand, the percentage of families having a per capita income of Rs. 25 or less is the least among the traders, being 7·6. Servants stand next to traders with Rs. 48 as average per capita

No. 26 :—Statement¹ showing the average per capita income and the distribution of families according to per capita income groups.

Economic Class	Average per capita income	Percentage distribution of families according to per capita income-groups in rupees		
		1-25	26-50	Above 50
Owners	46	11.4	58.	30.6
Tenants	31	36.0	55.1	8.9
Labourers	28	50.4	46.	3.6
Traders	52	7.6	52.2	40.2
Artisans	43	14.4	59.2	26.4
Servants	48	24.4	37.4	38.2
Harijans	29	46.4	44.6	9.0
Total	38	28.7	51.1	20.2

income and owners the third though the average income per family among owners is greater than in any other class. In the per capita income group of Rs. 51 and above or in that of below Rs. 26 servants are more numerous than owners who are better distributed in the three per capita income groups. The reason is that, the servants are made up of two classes, the well-paid servants which include superior Government servants and mill servants and inferior ones which include low-paid domestics and village servants. The average per capita

1. The average income per capita is calculated from Table No. 27. This can be also calculated by dividing the average income by the average number of members per family. The figures so obtained are, Rs. 37 for all; Rs. 46 for owners, Rs. 30 for tenants, Rs. 26 for labourers, Rs. 48 for traders, 41 for artisans, Rs. 47 for servants, Rs. 28 for Harijans. The divergence between corresponding figures obtained by the two methods is slight and it may be attributed to the drawbacks in the methods used.

income of superior servants is Rs. 66 and that of mill servants is Rs. 51.65-1 p. c. of superior servants have a per capita income of above Rs. 50. On the other hand the average per capita among inferior servants is Rs. 31 and the percentage of families in the lowest per capita income-group of Rs. 1-25 is 53.8.

The average per capita income of artisans is Rs. 3 less than that of owners or Rs. 5 more than that for all. In the per capita income group of Rs. 26-50 artisans are more numerous than any other class. Among the sub classes of artisans weavers are better off. Weavers have an average per capita income as high as that of traders and 78.6 p. c. of the families among them have a per capita income of Rs. 51 or more.

The average per capita income is the lowest in the case of labourers being Rs. 28 only. Almost half (50.4) p. c. of families among labourers have a per capita income of less than Rs. 26 and only 3.6 p. c. more than Rs. 50.

The average per capita income of Harijans is a rupee more than that of labourers. Among the Harijans there are many families working in the mills. The average per capita income of these families is Rs. 40. If these mill-working families are excluded, the average per capita income for Harijans is Rs. 26 or Rs. 2 less than that of labourers.

Among the remaining classes, the shepherds have a per capita income of Rs. 49 on an average and priests have Rs. 32.

Relation between Wealth, Capital and Income.

Capital plays an important role in increasing production and also the total income. But it is to be noted that all wealth is not capital. Only that part of wealth which is actually used in production constitutes capital. Out of the constituents of wealth of rural families only land, live-stock and that part of savings which is actually used in production can be called capital. Further, there is no direct relation between the total income of an individual and his capital. It can be seen from statement No. 27 that traders

have a larger average per capita income than owners though the average per capita capital among the latter exceeds that

No. 27 :—Statement showing the average wealth per capita, average capital per capita¹ and average income per capita, according to classes.

Economic Class.	Average wealth per capita.	Average capital per capita.	Average income per capita.
Owners ...	263	212	46
Tenants ...	122	82	31
Labourers ...	60	41	28
Traders ...	211	149	52
Artisans ...	111	74	43
Servants ...	195	150	48
Harijans ...	35	23	29
Total ...	157	114	38

of the former by Rs. 63. This is because the capital of the owner invested in land does not yield as much income as that invested in trade. Again the trader on account of his greater intelligence can make better use of his capital and earn more than an average cultivator. Labourers who depend for income more on their labour have an average per capita income which is more than half that of owners, though the average per capita capital of the latter is more than twice as large as that of the former. In short income of an individual or of family is the outcome of the four factors of production of which capital is one and the others on are land, labour, organization.

1. Average capital per capita is obtained by adding figures of wealth in land, live-stock and savings (vide statement No. 23) and dividing it by the average number of members in the family of that class.

Per Capita Income and Region.

**No. 28—Statement showing the influence of region
on per capita income.**

Economic class and Region	Percentage distribution of families according to income groups in rupees			Average per capita income
	1-25	26-50	Above 50	
Owners ... (irrigated)	6.2	66.7	27.1	46
Owners ... (non-irrigated)	15.2	51.8	33	46
Tenants ... (irrigated)	32.6	58.4	9	33
Tenants ... (non-irrigated)	36.8	54.4	8.8	30
Labourers ... (irrigated)	37.4	56.1	6.5	31
Labourers ... (non-irrigated)	60	38.4	1.6	25

Statement No. 28 shows that the average per capita income in the family among owners is the same in the irrigated and non-irrigated region. But it can be seen that the percentage of families in the lowest per capita income group is smaller in the irrigated region. The average per capita income of tenants of the irrigated region is slightly larger than that of the non-irrigated region partly on account of the better scope for carrying on side-occupation which the former enjoy. Average per capita income of labourers of the irrigated region is 24 per cent more than that for the non-irrigated region. The high prices prevailing in the irrigated region is the cause of this.

Percentage of children in the family and per capita income.

No. 29—Statement¹ showing the average per capita income for varying percentage of children in the family.

Percentage of children in the family	Average per capita income
0	55
11-20	44.7
21-30	44
31-40	38.9
41-50	37.9
51-60	31.7
61-70	28.6
71-80	27.7

It can be concluded from Statement No. 29 that the average per capita income of the family falls as the percentage of children in the family increases.

Average Income per Adult² Unit. The average income per adult unit is Rs. 50.2. The corresponding figures for other classes are Rs. 65.7 for owners, Rs. 64.5 for traders, Rs. 62.8 for servants, Rs. 55.6 for artisans, Rs. 40.4 for tenants, Rs. 39.2 for Harijans, and Rs. 33.7 for labourers. Again, owners, who are second to traders as far as the per capita income is concerned have the largest average income per adult unit.

1. This statement is prepared from Table No. 26.

2. The average income per adult unit is obtained by dividing the average income per family by the average number of members in adult units per family of that class.

No. 30—Statement showing the average percentage income of economic classes from important sources.

Economic Class.	The sources of income and the average percentage income from each								
	Land	Live-stock	Casual labour	Trader	Artisan's work	Cart-rent	Interest	Service	Bribes
Owners	67.3	8.8	5	2	...	2.8	1.8	...	...
Tenants	50.1	11.1	21.1	2.7	...	5.8	1.4	1.4	...
Labourers	11.7	9.2	71	1.1	...	...	...	1.1	...
Traders	13.9	3.6	7.1	61.6	...	...	3.8	3.1	...
Artisans	11.6	2.7	3.8	..9	69.3	...	.8	1.3	...
Servants	24.7	2	6.9	...	...	...	.8	52.1	4.4
Harijans	5.5	7.5	36.8	...	...	...	...	20.8	...

Sources of Income :—1. Land—Land is an important source of income with most of the economic classes. In the case of owners and tenants all families have at least a part of their income from land. The percentage of families which have land as a source of their income is 67.1 among servants, 66.2 among labourers, 63.1 among traders, 53 among Harijans and 50.8 among artisans.

2. Live-Stock:—Next to land, live-stock is the important source of income. The percentage of families which have live-stock as the source of income is 70.3 among owners, 70.2 among tenants, 59.6 among labourers, 25.9 among artisans, 20.6 among traders, 16 among servants, 51.2 among Harijans.

Income from live-stock is obtained in many ways viz. from milk, curds, butter, dung, manure, eggs, kids, wool, or appreciation in price.

Importance of live-stock as a constituent of wealth is pointed out elsewhere. As a side occupation also, live-stock is second to none. With an investment of Rs. 50 on a she-buffalo, a cultivator who has not to buy fodder can earn Rs. 4 per month on an average. If there is market for milk or curds this income is definitely not less than Rs. 8 per month. Those who can spare more time to graze the she-buffalo and wash her daily can earn even more. An average family can, after consuming dairy products in sufficient quantities, earn enough to meet their bazar expenses. Most of the families maintain she-buffalo so that the bazar expenses may be defrayed from its income. In actual practice, in a family having a she-buffalo, the head of the family does not contribute anything towards bazar expenses. So the housewife regulates domestic consumption of dairy products in accordance with the purchases to be made next week.

Investment on cows is equally lucrative. A bull-calf born of a cow worth Rs. 50 easily fetches Rs. 23 at the end of the year. After two years the same calf can be sold for Rs. 50 and after three years for Rs. 80. Tending of cows for their breed is more paying in the inundated region. A bull of one year of this region sells for Rs. 75 and that of 3 years for Rs. 150.

Tending of bulls as a side-occupation is equally paying. Many families of inundated and forest region buy emaciated bulls for about Rs. 34-40, graze and feed them for 3-4 months and sell them again for Rs. 60-70.

Investment on goats is also paying. A goat costing about Rs. 10 brings forth two kids a year which can be sold for Rs. 4. So the poorer families who have not the money to buy a she-buffalo or the lands to feed her, tend a goat or two.

Poultry keeping is also paying provided that measurers are taken to guard them from disease, hawk and thief. A cock and hen costing Rs. 1-8 produce 96 eggs per year. These eggs can be sold for Rs. 1-3 and if they are hatched into chicken more than Rs. 2 can be obtained at the end of the year, as a chicken of a year is worth 3-6 annas.

Sheep-rearing is paying only when it is followed as the principal occupation. A family can maintain itself decently on a hundred sheep worth about Rs. 500. These yield wool worth Rs. 30 per year, butter worth 6 annas per week and manure worth 2 seers of corn per day; besides, a hundred kids worth about Rs. 100 per year. But such a family has to lead a nomadic life.

Now-a-days even tending pigs has become a paying proposition as the price of a pig has risen to Rs. 5.

3. *Casual Labour*: Casual labour in the fields or elsewhere is one of the important sources of income. The percentage of families which have casual labour as a source of income is 100 p. c. among labourers, 58.2 p. c. among tenants, 32.8 among servants, 23.9 among traders, 15.4 among artisans, 10.6 among owners, and among 70.5 Harijans.

Agricultural operations involve various forms of labour and in a measure which cannot be coped with by the owner of the land. So labourers are employed on daily payment system. The payment is usually in kind. Roughly speaking, an agricultural labourer of the non-irrigated region is paid per day 2 annas or corn worth that amount during the off season. The wages in the irrigated region are higher varying between 3-4 annas. During the harvest season the payments are invariably in kind and are in proportion to labour. So a good labourer can hope to earn 8 annas very easily. Even women earn 6-8 annas during this season.

In the irrigated region employment is available all the year round but in the non-irrigated region, there is work only for 4-6 months depending upon the cultivable area of the village and the number of labourers. During the slack season many of the poor families go to the neighbouring villages in search of employment. During the harvest season in particular the movement of labour population from one village to another is noticeable.

There is no great scope for non-agricultural employment in the rural areas. Only a few who are more strong and skilled than ordinary field labourers get non-agricultural work

and that too for some time in a year. The important among the forms of non-agricultural labour are, wall-building, road-repair in villages near metalled roads, quarrying, tree-felling, making of charcoal and other similar work in forests in villages of the forest region, rail-road repair in villages near railways, 'hamali' in villages near market places etc.

Most of these forms of labour are undertaken on contract basis and the payment is in cash. A good-builder earns per day 8-12 annas, a good road repairer 6-8 annas, a tree feller 5-7 annas, a rail-road repairer 4-6 annas, etc.

4. *Trader* :—Trade as a source of income is not so important as land, livestock or casual labour. It forms a source of income with 100 p. c. of traders, 9.3 p. c. of tenants, 8.5 p. c. of owners, 6.5 p. c. of servants, 4.4 p. c. of artisans and 3.3 p. c. of labourers.

With traders, trade is the principal occupation. But others carry on trade as a side occupation in various things and on various occasions like the following :—

1. Selling of sundry things on bazar days.
2. Selling of sundry things in the fair.
3. Selling of sundry things at holy places and on holy days.
4. Conducting tea or bidi shops during the harvest seasons.
5. Buying butter, wood, vegetables, fruits or eggs in the village and selling them in the market.
6. Buying of bangles, oil, or other articles in the bazar and selling them to the villagers.
7. Buying of agricultural crops like cotton, chilly, country sugar etc. during the harvest from the villagers and selling them in the town.
8. Buying of cattle in the market and selling them the same or the next week.
9. Acting as a commission agent for buying or selling of cattle.

The margin of profit is not prescribed. The trader tries to get as much profit as he can conveniently get without losing his business reputation.

5. *Cart-rent* :—Cart-rent is a source of income with 27.5 p. c. of tenants, 16.5 p. c. of owners and 1.1 p. c. of artisans. As bullocks are not owned by families of other classes, cart-

rent is not a source of their income. Cart as a passenger conveyance has been almost replaced by motor. Richer classes travel by motor only and poorer ones on foot when the distance to be travelled is not much. It is on occasions when a person cannot go on foot and that a motor is not available that a cart is hired. The rates of the cart are 8 annas for a journey of 8 miles or a rupee for a day's return journey of 12-20 miles.

Carts are generally used to transport agricultural produce, wood or forest products to the market. The usual rates are Rs. 2 per day when the return journey is of a day and the loading is done one way only. When loading is done both while going and coming Rs. 3 are charged for a day's return journey of about 20 miles.

6. *Agricultural dues* :—It is customary in the rural areas for the cultivator to pay for the services of many artisans in kind once a year at the time of harvest. Artisans who receive dues are called 'aygars'. The important among the aygars are the blacksmith, the carpenter, the barber and the Holeyā or Harijan. The blacksmith is to supply all the small iron or steel implements required by the cultivator. The carpenter has to do all repair work of wooden implements and barber is to shave whenever his services are demanded. The Holeyā is to supply 'new shoes and repair old ones. Again he is one of the village public servants whose duty is to carry post of the village officials and render menial service. The recent tendency is to avoid paying Holeyā for his public duties.

The rates of payment to the 'ayagar' are not fixed. The quantity paid depends upon the harvest, the nature of the cultivator and the amount of the actual services rendered by the aygar. Generally a blacksmith gets from a cultivator owing two bullocks, about 26 seers of jowar or bajri, 64 seers of ground-nuts and 4-6 seers of wheat. The carpenter and the barber also get about the same amount. But payments to the holeyā are less. Aygars have a claim to a share in every thing grown by his cultivator. Besides, they can at any time bring vegetables and grass in required quantities—from the fields of

their client. It is roughly estimated that an aygar can have a decent living if he has 20-25 clients.

There are some other aygars also. The Dhor or tanner is one of them. He is one of the important aygars in villages irrigated by wells. He is to supply all the leather instruments required for water drawing arrangement. He is paid 80 maunds of country sugar if sugar-cane is grown or 30-40 srs. of corn.

Boatman :—Many cultivators instead of paying ferry crossing charges every time while crossing promise, the boatman to pay dues at the time of harvest.

Potter :—At some places potter is also paid dues for the pots supplied.

Tailors :—Some of the tailors are also paid dues.

Washerman :—Is also paid dues at some places. But there are many other persons who claim dues without rendering any service to cultivator. Among such aygars are the gurav or the local priest, koravar or the musician of the local temple, the family priest, the 'halab' or village servant, beggars etc.

7. *Interest* :—Though there are few who can be called regular money-lenders, there are many who lend small amounts to their friends or relatives to assist them in their difficulties. The percentage of families who have interest as a source of their income is 9.7 among traders, 8.5 among owners, .8 among tenants, 4.9 among artisans, 4.6 among servants, 1.2 among labourers and nil among Harijans.

8. *Service* :—Service is of three kinds, viz. Government service, service in a mill or institution, and private service. The Patil, Kulkasni, the 'halabs' and the teacher are all Government servants. The services of the first three are paid with the grant of land. Kulkarni is given some honorarium at places where irrigation dues are to be collected. The pay of the teacher is regulated by the scale of pay determined by the Government. Mill servants are paid Rs. 15-45 ordinarily according to individual merits. In places where there is a co-operative society a secretary is maintained on a pay of

Rs. 5-15 and a peon on Rs. 8-10. In bigger villages there is the postmaster and a secretary of the Gram-panchayat.

There are many engaged in private service. 6.5 p. c. of Harijan families and 5.9 p. c. of labourer families have private service as a source of income. Many of the Harijan boys work as cow-herds on an annual pay of Rs. 4-8 with free boarding, lodging and clothing. Some of the big cultivators employ field labourers on a monthly pay of Rs. 6-10. Some of the traders employ clerks on Rs. 8-10 per month. Many boys are employed in tea shops or as domestics on a pay of Rs. 1-2 per month with free boarding. Before the harvest season, persons are engaged on Rs. 4-8 per month to watch the crops.

The percentage of families which have service as a source of income is 4.9 among owners, 3.5 among tenants, 3.3 among labourers, 9.7 among traders, 3.8 among artisans, 100 p. c. among servants and 29.5 among Harijans.

9. *Crafts* :—(a) *Weaving* :—Weaving is an important craft but it has ceased to be as paying as it once was. Weaver is paid Rs. 4 if he weaves 8 saris from yarn of 30 number. A man can weave 4 saris week on an average. If the person has capital of his own to buy yarn there is an additional profit of 4 annas per sari. Those who are strong and skilled earn Rs. 4-5 per week. Women of weavers do subsidiary work of winding the thread, arranging the loom etc. and earn 2-4 annas a day.

Weaving as a side occupation is followed by a few families only.

(b) *Tailoring* :—Tailor is also one of the 'aygars.' The tailor charges to those who are not his customers paying dues, 2 annas for a half shirt, $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas for a full shirt and 12 annas for a coat. He earns about a rupee per day during the harvest time and during the days just preceding important holidays. In the rainy season his average earnings are 6-8 annas.

(c) *Shaving* :—Barber is one of the aygars. But he charges non-agriculturists at the rate of Rs. 1-8 per year or an anna for a shave,

(d) *Pot-making* :—Potter charges an anna for a pot, 3 annas for a vessel of 4 gallons, and 4 annas for a good water carrying pot. Charges of other articles vary according to size and shape. An experienced potter can earn about a rupee per day by working full time, but earnings per day on an average are not more than 8 annas.

(e) *Carpentry* :—A carpenter charges Rs. 12 for preparing a new wheel of wood, if wood is supplied. Re. 1 is charged for making a chair. Carpenter is paid dues and he does not get many orders to be executed for cash.

(f) *Smithy* :—A blacksmith charges Rs. 2 for fitting the wheels of a cart with rails; 2-4 annas for a lock. He generally works for his agriculturist—customers who pay him dues.

(g) *Stone-cutter* :—Stone-cutters are usually of vaddar caste. Those who blow up stones from rocky mountains charge Rs. 2-8 for 100 big stones which can be used in house building. These persons earn 12—16 annas a day. Some of the Vaddars manufacture grinding stones. A grinding stone which can be sold at a profit of Rs. 2 can be made in two days. Some other Vaddars who break stones in pebbles for being used in metalling roads earn about 7 annas a day of 8 hours. Their women who work for about 5 hours a day earn 3-5 annas.

(h) *Shoe-making* :—Shoes are supplied to the cultivator in exchange for dues. To non-cultivators, shoe-maker charges about Rs. 2 for shoes which last for two years. For ordinary shoes a rupee is charged. Shoe-makers can earn 8 annas per day by preparing shoes.

(i) *Goldsmithy* :—Goldsmiths of the rural areas are required to prepare mostly silver ornaments. An honest goldsmith cannot earn more than 8 annas a day. But it is said that goldsmiths are never honest. In spite of the free use of under-hand means, goldsmiths are finding it impossible to depend solely on their profession. So goldsmithy is becoming a side occupation.

(j) *Playing on musical instruments* :—A party of Korvars or musicians charge Rs. 2-4 per day to play on instruments

during marriage. As the party consists of 4-5 persons, each gets about 8 annas per day. Korvars are usually attached to some temple and they get some honorarium for this service and in addition they collect dues at the time of harvest.

10. *Spinning*: Spinning was once universal in the taluka. It was one of the duties of the house-wife to see that clothing requirements of the family were met with from the home-spun yarn only. But now, only in old-fashioned houses that some old women can be seen working on the spinning wheel. Importance of spinning as a side-occupation has lately been impressed upon the people by political propaganda. A yarn collecting centre is opened in the taluka and some families have begun to spin in their spare hours with a view to increase their income. The percentage of families which have spinning as a source of income is 3 among servants, 2.7 among labourers, 2.3 among tenants, 2.1 among traders, 1.5 among owners, and nil among artisans and Harijans.

It is said that even a beginner can earn $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas in 7 hours by spinning a seer of ginned cotton into No. 16 thread. The more experienced few can spin 4000 yards in 8 hours and can get 4 annas net by selling it to the yarn collecting centre.

Spinning of wool is not done by many partly because there is no demand for it and partly because of the low payment. Only a rupee is paid for spinning of 2 srs. of wool which requires 15 days' full work. There are only 15 families which have wool-spinning as a source of income.

11. *Ginning*:—Ginning is mostly done in the ginning mills only. Formerly it was exclusively done by Pinjars—a Muslim caste. A Pinjar is paid $\frac{1}{2}$ anna when 10 srs. of seeds are ginned out of cotton; this is a work of 3 hours.

12. *Fire-wood Selling*:—Many families collect branches and plants and sell at the rate of 2 annas per head-load. 6 p. c. of the Harijan and 3.7 p. c. of labourers have fire-wood selling as a source of income. Selling of firewood is an important side-occupation among the villagers living near the town. Those living in the forest region, carry fuel to the town in

carts and sell them for Rs. 3-6 per cart according to the load and the quality of the fuel. This business is done mostly by tenants when their bullocks and cart have no other work.

13. *Menial work* :—All sorts of menial work are undertaken by poorer families to subsidize their income. The following are some of them.

- (i) *Washing clothes* :—Some families engage a maid servant to wash clothes. The payment is not more than Rs. 1-6-0 per month for the clothes of an average family.
- (ii) *Cleaning vessels* :—The payment for cleaning vessels of every day use of a family is about a rupee per month.
- (iii) *Bringing Water* :—As the water source is sometimes far away from the village proper some families engage a boy for bringing water. The payment is according to the number of water-pots brought, the rate of payment being an anna for five pots or so.
- (iv) *Grinding* :—Grinding of corn is done by the housewife only. But on occasions like marriage when the house wife cannot spare time or on other days when she cannot do the work, grinding is entrusted to poor women who are paid at the rate of a pice or two per seer of corn.
- (v) *Smearing with dung* :—On holidays some women are employed to smear the floor with cow-dung. The payment is about 2 annas per day.
- (vi) *Gleaning of corn* :—Pounding and gleaning of 'navani' corn is followed as a side occupation by many families, particularly in the 'Kunarnad' region. They buy navani corn of a rupee, pound and glean it and sell it at a profit of an anna and a half. A woman on an average can earn 3-4 annas a week.
- (vii) *Cow-dung selling* :—Some poor women collect cow-dung, dry it into cakes, and sell them at a rate of 2 ans for hundred cakes.
- (viii) *Stitching or repair of Clothes* :—Some women particularly of the Das caste repair old clothes and stitch bodice for women. They also stitch together pieces of old clothes into a big sheet called 'kaundi'. These women earn about 4 annas a day.
- (ix) *Bidi Making* :—In the village Ankalagi where there is a big bidi-producing firm, many women are engaged in manufacturing bidies. A woman earns 1-2 annas a day by working in her spare time for about 4 hours.
- (x) *Selling of Grass* :—Some women reap grass of

the public ground and sell them in the market and earn 3 annas a day.

14. Basket Making :—Korvars and Harijans make baskets and sell them for 2-3 annas, each. A basket-maker can earn 6-8 annas, per day if he works full-time. But the demand for basket is not so great as to give full-time work.

15. Rope Making :—Rope-making for selling is done by Korvars and Harijans. 3-4 annas can be earned by rope-making.

16. Begging :—Begging is a source of income with the priests, Das people, 'jogati' or untouchable prostitutes and all others who go for begging. Priests are served with a handful of jowar or jowar flour and 'jogatis' with a pice. Other beggars are given a pice.

17. Miscellaneous Sources of Income :—

Name of the Source	No. of families. (of 1592 families)
i. Bribes	47
ii. Bone-collection (among Harijans)	37
iii. Prostitution or debauchery ...	35
iv. Stealing grass, corn etc. (among Berads and Das) ...	23
v. Getting money from relatives employed elsewhere ...	22
vi. Acting as a go-between for lovers	15
vii. Drum beating (only Harijans) ...	10
viii. Acting as a physician...	6
ix. Astrology and palmistry ...	3
x. Offering oneself as a witness in suits	2
xi. Intimidating and getting money from others	2
xii. Wrestling	1
xiii. Snuff-making	1

18. *Percentage of Income from different Sources*

i. *Cultivating Owners* :—With owners income from land occupies a major place, the average percentage income from this source being 67·3. It can be seen from Table No. 28 that 16·3 p. c. of families have more than 90 p. c. and 60 p. c. more than 60 p. c. of their income from land only. On the other hand, those who get less than 30 p. c. of their income from land form only 5 p. c. In the irrigated region there are only 3·5 p. c. of the families who get less than 30 p. c. of their income from land. In the higher income-group of Rs. 501 and above the percentage of income from land is also high, the average percentage being 84·5.

Income from other sources forms only a small part. Among other sources income from live-stock is very important; the average percentage of income from live-stock is 9·8. There are only 1·5 p. c. families who get more than 50 p. c. of their income from this source and 34·7 p. c. families get no income at all. Income from live-stock is considerable only in the lower income groups.¹ The reason for this is that families with large incomes consider it below their dignity to sell dairy products and they do not sell home-bred bulls as they require them for cultivation of their fields.

Casual labour does not contribute much to the family income of cultivating owners; the average percentage income from casual labour is only 5. Table No. 31 clearly shows that in the case of families having an income of Rs. 501 and above income from casual labour is nil or negligible. For, the rich consider it derogatory to their social status to work on daily wages. Secondly as they have to mind their own fields of many acres they cannot spare time. But we can find 34·5 p. c. of families in the comparatively large income-group of 300–500 who get a part of their income from casual labour. This is because as there is scarcity of labour during the harvest season, it is customary for the wives of the big cultivators to request their female relatives to help them in reaping and the latter usually accept on condition that they should be helped in the like manner. The relatives who are thus invited are paid

1. Vide Table No. 29,

according to the custom of the locality. In this way even rich families sometimes get a part of their income from casual labour. But the families having poorer income have to go for casual labour not to help their relatives but to subsidize their meagre earnings. So we notice that in the case of families in the income group of Rs. 300 and below, percentage income from casual labour forms an important part, the average percentage income being 6.

In the case of owners the average percentage income from cart-rent is 2-8 and that from trade is 2. 4-6 p. c. of the families get more than 20 p. c. of their income from cart-hire. Percentage Income from other sources is very small.

ii. *Tenants*:—Though land forms a source of income with cent percent of tenant families, percentage income from land is considerably less than that for owners. The average percentage of income from land is 50-1. Only 31 p. c. of the families have more than 60 p. c. of their income from land. Among tenants of the non-irrigated region the percentage of families having more than 60 p. c. of their income from land is only 24. On the other hand, families which get less than 30 p. c. of their income from land constitute 20-8 p.c., which is nearly 4 times as much as the corresponding figure for owners. In the non-irrigated region the percentage of families having less than 30 p. c. of their income from land is 26-5.

As income from land is not sufficient, tenants have to fall back upon other sources of income. Many of the tenants go to work as labourers when they have no work in their own fields. The average percentage income from casual labour is 11-1. 53-2 p. c. of the tenants get more than 20 p. c. of their income from casual labour. The percentage of families getting more than 40 p. c. from this source is 24-4.

Income from live-stock is also considerable, the average percentage income from this source is 11-1. Those who get more than 10 p. c. of their income from live-stock form 46-6 and these getting more than 30 p. c. form 8 p. c.

Next to live-stock comes cart-hire as an important source of income. It contributes more than 15 p. c. of the income in the case of 17-8 p. c. of the families.

Interest and trade do not seem to contribute appreciably to the income of tenants. The average percentage income from trade is 2.7 and that from interest is 1.4.

3. *Labourers* :—With labourers, the average percentage income from labour is 71. In the case of 20.3 p. c. of the families it is almost the only source contributing more than 90 p. c. to the total income. Among labourers those who get more than 50 p. c. of their income from labour from 80 p. c.

Though income from land does not constitute the major part of the income of labourers, it is an important source, next only to labour. The average percentage income from land is 11.7. 8.6 p. c. of the families get more than 30 p. c. of their income from land and 27.4 p. c. of the families get 16.30 p. c.

Livestock is another important source of income. The average percentage income from livestock is 9.2. Income from other sources is unimportant.

4. *Traders* :—Table No. 37 shows that income from trade contributes largely to the income of traders. The average percentage income from trade is 61.6. 22.8 p. c. of the families have more than 90 p. c. of their income from this source and 76 p. c. of families have more than 50 p. c.

Income of traders from land is also considerable. The average percentage income from land is 13.9. 25.1 p. c. of the families have 16.30 p. c. of their income from this source. But there are 37 p. c. of families who are not dependent upon land for their income. In the case of 56 p. c. of the families the percentage of income from land is less than 11 p. c. only 2.2 p. c. of the families get more than 50 p. c. of their income from this source.

Income from livestock forms only 3.6 p. c. of the total income on an average. Most of the traders rear livestock to procure dairy products for domestic consumption. This is evident from the fact that only 20 p. c. of the families have livestock as their source of income whereas the percentage of families owning livestock is 56.6.

Casual labour is more important to traders as a source of income than livestock. The average percentage income

from-casual labour is 7.1. This may sound strange. But the fact is that some of the traders are part-time traders only. They work in the fields as labourers in the morning and conduct their shop in the evening. 10.9 p. c. of the families which have more than 30 p. c. of their income from casual labour are traders of this type. 13 p. c. of the families which get less than 30 p. c. of their income from this source are usually those whose female members do casual labour during the harvest season.

Traders have a greater percentage of income from interest than any other class. 9.8 p. c. of the families are doing money-lending business. In the case of 3.3 p. c. of the families which have more than 50 p. c. of their income from interest money-lending is the real profession though apparently they are traders. The average percentage income from interest is 3.8.

Among other sources of income service is the important one, the average percentage income being 3.1.

5. *Artisaas* :—Table No. 38 shows the percentage income of artisans from different sources. It can be seen that no other class is so much dependent upon its principal occupation. 30 p. c. of the families get more than 90 p. c. of their income from their main occupation. In the case of weavers those who got more than 90 p. c. of their income from their main occupation form 49 p. c. among stone-cutter, it is 63 p. c. The average percentage income from the main occupation for this class is 69.3. Only the Korvars or musicians are not much dependent on their main occupation for their livelihood.

As a contributory factor of income, land is unimportant with many of the sub-classes of the artisans like weavers vaddars, and korvars. Though the average percentage income from land is 11.6, it is an important source of income only with the hereditary artisans receiving dues and with the goldsmiths and tailors. Among the former 44 p. c. of the families and among the latter 69 p. c. get more than 10 p. c. of their income from this source. In this class as a whole the percentage of families getting more than 30 p. c. from land is only 14.9,

Income from casual labour and livestock is important only in the case of hereditary artisans. The average percentage income from casual labour is 3·8 and that from livestock is 2·7. Other sources of income like interest, trade and service are of minor importance.

6. *Servants*:—The sanadis or village servants who are given lands permanently instead of cash payments at regular intervals, have greater part of their income from land only, at the average percentage being 60. With superior servants also, income from land forms a considerable part of their total income. The average percentage income from land for servant class as a whole is 24·7,

Service occupies 52·1 p. c. of the total income of servants on an average. In the case of domestic and mill servants there are only 5 p. c. of the families which get less than 41 p. c. of their income from service. 43 p. c. of the families among these two sub-classes have more than 80 p. c. of their income from service. But among the superior servants there are 26 p. c. of the families which get less than 41 p. c. of their income from service. The reason for this is that some of the superior servants like Patils have been given land for their services.

The average percentage income from casual labour is 6·9. Among superior servants no family has any income from this source. On the other hand among inferior servants there are 43 p. c. of the families which get 20–70 p. c. of their income from casual labour.

Among superior servants bribes is an important source of income. The average percentage income from this source is 4·4.

7. *Harijans*:—Sources of income of Harijans are many. Some of them are:—agricultural dues from cultivators, livestock, casual labour, service, shoe-making, shoe-repair, bone-collection, selling of hides, fire-wood and ropes, making of charcoal and baskets, begging, beating of drums and prostitution. It is difficult to determine the percentage income from each of these sources separately. Table No. 39 gives the percentage income from important sources only.

costly. Poorer sections of the people who cannot afford Rabi jowar, use Kharif jowar. Bajri is not generally selected as it is less tasty though the price is more or less the same as that of jowar. But when the price of jowar goes up, bajri is used as the cheaper substitute. In the irrigated areas maize is consumed as the staple food. In some villages, it completely replaces jowar on account of its cheapness. Wheat is the only crop which is not generally used even when it is produced locally. The main reason is its higher price for which it can be exchanged. Even when it gets cheaper it is not given preference as (i) its preparation into bread (i. e. Chapatis) requires more time which the busy house-wife cannot spare (ii) oil is considered necessary for preparing 'Chapatis' and when it is included in the cost of production, jowar bread becomes cheaper in spite of the higher price of jowar, (iii) jowar bread is eaten with 'chutney' of bare chillies and salt. But wheat bread—the people say—cannot be well relished without sugar or some sweet dish which makes the cost of wheat bread prohibitive. Rice has never found favour with the people who complain that it makes light food over and above its high price. Rice is used as a subsidiary food by the Brahmins and other well-to-do people who eat boiled rice with butter-milk and milk after finishing up the bread. People consider rice-eating a luxury. In the Kundarnad region 'navani' corn is used by the poor people in the same way as rice by the rich. But in other parts staple grain is used for bread and for nucch¹ which is used as a subsidiary food like rice and also sometimes as vegetables for bread.

(b) Per capita consumption of the food grain. The amount of grain consumed by an individual depends upon various factors :—(i) The health of the individual :—It is needless to say that the amount consumed increases proportionately with the health or digesting capacity of the person. (ii) Habits of the person :—One accustomed to the habit of drinking tea which decreases the digestive power cannot eat more. (iii) Occupation :—Amount consumed can be easily determined from the occupation of the person. The labour-

1 It is a kind of 'second dish'—vide glossary.

ing classes require more food than the land-lord, the trader or the goldsmith for example. (iv) Other habits like eating fruits, sweetmeats etc. before meals :—People who are in the habit of eating before meals cannot consume more of bread, though their total consumption amounts to the same. (v) Quantity of vegetables :—If more of vegetables are served, less of bread is eaten. (vi) Kind of grain used :—Light and tasty grain like rice is consumed in greater quantities than heavy or tasteless grain. (vii) Form of preparation :—If dry bread is prepared a greater quantity of grain is consumed than when a liquid preparation of the grain is served. Poor families when they have not the sufficient stock of grain use gruel instead of 'nuchchu'. (viii) Season :—In summer as more water is drunk, less food is taken. It is also alleged that digestive capacity is influenced to some extent by the seasons. (ix) Properties of the water used :—Some waters have the distinctive drawback of spoiling the digestive power. In the river inundated villages where muddy water alone is used for cooking and drinking, people tell that their per capita consumption is less in the rainy season, as they feel less hungry on account of the muddy water.

Normally a healthy adult male consumes a seer¹ of grain per day. Eight breads are prepared from the flour of one seer of jowar and an adult eats six breads a day, at the rate of two breads a time and $\frac{1}{4}$ seer is consumed in the form of 'Nuchchu.' A healthy adult female consumes $1\frac{1}{2}$ breads a time, three times a day with 'nuchchu' of $\frac{1}{4}$ seer. Thus the total consumption of grain of a healthy female adult comes to .8 seer. This figure fluctuates greatly under the influence of one or more of the factors that are enumerated above from .4 sr. to 1.2 srs., the average being .7 sr.

Total consumption of the food-grains by a family :—Total consumption of the staple grain by a family is not exactly commensurate with its membership and is dependent on the following additional factors:—

- (i) Capacity for consumption of individual members.
- (ii) The number of outsiders that are present for meals. In a

1 A seer is of 80 tolas in measure.

family having many relatives, there is always an attendance of some guests for meals. (iii) Number of members who are absent at meals. (iv) Number of cattle—some bread is given to cattle. If there are dogs, they are fed with some pieces. (v) General habits—if the house-wife is miserly, the members are not fed fully. On the other hand a house-wife with wasteful habits requires more quantities of grain.

(B) Cereals and Vegetables. *Cereals*:—The cultivator uses those kinds of cereals which he produces in his own field. Only the land-less families have to buy them.

Cereals are boiled with water and spices and used as savoury to give taste to the staple food. Some kinds of cereals like pigeon pea are cooked in water with some spices to make 'sar' or broth.

The amount of cereals consumed varies with the stock lying with the family. Cultivator who grows more makes a greater use of them. On the other hand those who have to buy them consume the minimum possible quantity. The per capita consumption of cereals per annum varies immensely from a few seers to as many as 100 seers.

Green Vegetables:—A variety of vegetables is cultivated in the rainy season. The agriculturist grows them in ample quantities. Labourers pick the vegetables they want, from the fields where they go for working. Hereditary artisans have the customary right to take away as much vegetables as they need from their customers. Other people get them on a request to the cultivator. So none buys vegetables in the rainy season. In summer, most of the villages have to go without vegetables. Some others can get only brinjals on payment. In the poorer villages, 'chutney' of chillies, salt and garlic is used for nine months. Only the irrigated villages get vegetables for the greater part of the year. It is very difficult to determine the quantity of vegetables consumed by an individual per year. The amount consumed varies much more than cereals.

Consumption of unripe corn:—When the food-crops are getting ripe, the cultivator takes his friends or relatives to his field where the ears of unripe or partially ripe corn are chop-

ped off their stalks, baked in the fire kindled with thorns from the field and eaten. In the irrigated areas such eating of un-ripe maize is very common. Un-ripe wheat and jowar are also eaten in this way.

On an average a man gets 10-12 such occasions of eating these things free, in a year.

(C) Condiments, spices and the like :—

Chillies :—Chilly is as indispensable as salt. Like salt too, its per capita consumption does not show great variations. Poorer people require more of chillies as they get less of vegetables. Non-vegetarians also consume more. Those who do not use dairy products need more of chillies. But on an average a man consumes 10 lbs. of chillies per year. Only in some cases this figure is 12.5 lbs., the minimum being 4.8 lbs.

Onions :—Onions are popularly eaten both in its raw and cooked form. The amount consumed by a person depends upon its price or the amount produced at home. Growers of onion eat as much as 3-5 lbs. per head per month and those who have to buy eat not more than 1 lb. a month per head.

Garlic :—Garlic is primarily used to flavour the spice-powder or the 'chutney.' About .3—1 lb. are consumed by an adult on an average in a year.

Country sugar :—In fact country sugar does not form an item of consumption on ordinary days. Those who have to buy it, do not use it or use it in small quantities. Only those who grow sugarcane use it liberally while drinking water, or eating groundnuts.

Refined sugar is rarely used by rural families except in the preparation of tea.

Tamarind :—Tamarind is used mostly to give a sour taste to broth and in the 'chutney.' It is also used in very small quantities in vegetables. It is very difficult to estimate its consumption per capita ; it appears that 3-5 lbs. is the per capita annual consumption of an adult,

Copra :—Copra is not used by 90 per cent of people. Most of the families make use of the cocoanut broken before the God on holidays. Copra is consumed by some in small quantities ; the per capita consumption is not more than 3 lbs. per annum.

Spices :—Spices form one of the most necessary articles of consumption. They are available in the powder form and many people find it convenient to buy this powder. But some bring the ingredients¹ separately and prepare the powder at home. This is then mixed up with powder of chillies and then used to prepare pulse broth or to cook vegetables. The proportion in which spice powder is mixed with chilly powder reflects the economic condition of the family concerned. Amount of spice powder mixed increases with the richness of the family. The poorer people mix 3-5 annas worth of spices with 4 lbs. of chilly powder, whereas an average family requires 11-12 annas of spices for the same quantity of chilly powder. The rich require no less than a rupee. The poorest people exclude from their spice-powder all the costly ingredients to minimise the expenditure and the destitutes use only garlic. Thus each family adjusts the expenses on spices to its own financial position. For a family of 6 members (2 men, 2 women and 2 children) 4 annas of spices constitutes the minimum ; 8 annas the average ; and 1 Rupee the maximum expenditure per month.

(D) Salt :—Salt is one of the very few articles which no family can dispense with or produce it at home. Usually it is purchased once a week in the bazar, and deficiency in supply is supplemented by local purchases.

Per capita consumption of salt does not vary widely. According to the rough calculation of the villagers, an adult male requires as much amount of salt per month as that of grain he needs per day. Thus one seer becomes the per capita consumption of salt per month. As hinted already this estimate is rough and facts show that this figure represents the

¹ Ingredients are coriander, garlic, cinamon, sesamum, turmeric, copra, gram, mustard, cloves, chillies, nutmeg and its leaves, Khus etc.

maximum per capita consumption, the average being .7 srs. (1 sr. equal to 80 tolas in measure) and minimum is .5 srs.

Per capita consumption of salt is the highest with non-vegetarians who require more for their preparations. Poorer classes who get less of vegetables use more of salt with chillies and tamarind. Brahmins are found to consume less as they serve salt on the plate instead of mixing it with 'nuchchu' as non-Brahmins do.

(E) Oils :—Oil is used to fry vegetables, to flavour broth or any other thing with condiments, or to fry certain articles of consumption. Formerly safflower oil was exclusively used. Now groundnut oil which is cheaper has completely replaced the former. Some of the rich cultivators who grow safflower get the oil pressed for them from the local ghani or the oil pressers. But groundnut oil is not locally manufactured as it is cheaper to import it.

Amount of the oil consumed by a family increases with its purchasing power. Many of the poorest people use no vegetables and hence do not need oil every day. Some others of the same class do not use oil or use it in negligible quantities; they boil the vegetable simply with water and spiced chilly powder. The amount of oil consumed per head varies from .2 seers (1 sr. equal to 80 Tolas in measure) to 1.5 srs. a month. Only the Brahmins and the well-to-do class consume 1.5 srs. per head per month, the average is somewhere between .5 to .7 srs.

Cocoanut oil :—Cocoanut oil is used only for applying to the head or body. Males do not use this oil for their head except on rare occasions such as when the head is shaved. There is practically no expense on oil in a family consisting of male members only. Cocoanut oil is used by Brahmin ladies every day while combing the hair. Many of non-Brahmin women comb once in 5-6 days. In their case as they draw the end of the sari over their head, malarrangement of hair is not exposed even though they do not comb every day. The poorest women require oil only once a month for applying it to the whole body before taking a bath at the end of monthly

menstrual period. Children are applied oil to their head for a year or so.

The per capita use of cocoanut oil per adult male is nil. A woman of non-Brahmin class uses minimum .3 sr. (1 seer equal 80 Tolas in measure), average .5 sr. maximum .8 sr. and for each child minimum .1 sr., average .3 sr. and maximum .5 sr. per month.

Kerosene oil :—Kerosine oil is used for burning lamps which are small tin vessels with a broad bottom and a small elongated top with a cloth wick. Lanterns are lately making their appearance. The brass lamp of the old-world has gone out of fashion now. Oil of an inferior variety is used by the people.

Expenditure on oil is not the same for all the families and is directly dependent upon the (i) number of lamps used (ii) and the duration of burning of each lamp. In a middle-sized family of four persons only one lamp, is used. Bigger families have to maintain two or three lamps. Those who have more than one building require many lamps.

Duration of burning is the shortest with the labourers who go to bed early and get up after day break. When there is moon-light, lamp is not lighted at all by many poor people. Poorest still pass their night in the light of the burning cinders of the hearth. But usually an average family has to keep the lamp burning for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the evening and $\frac{1}{2}$ hour in the morning while grinding. For such a family, one bottle of kerosene is sufficient for 16–20 days. Cultivating owners have more than one lamp and duration of burning is also greater. The house wife has to wait with a lamp for an hour late till the milk cools down to be turned into curds. Again she has to get up early in the morning to do the work of grinding or that of cleaning the cattle shed. A big cultivator requires 3–4 kerosine tins per year but for an average family 2 tins are sufficient.

(F) **Match-box** :—Match-box is generally used only for lighting a lamp or kindling fire in the hearth. The poorer people get their lamps lighted at their neighbour's house and

borrow cinders to kindle fire. Ordinarily not more than 4 match-sticks are used by 50 per cent of the families per day. Usually one match box is included in the weekly budget of an average family. Those who use one match-box a month form not less than 8 per cent of the families. Cultivators require more as they have to get up twice or thrice at night to feed the cattle. Most of the tobacco smokers use 'chakamaki' or flame generated in the cotton piece through the friction of a steel rod against a stone-piece. Bidi smokers use cinders or the flame of a lamp,

(G) Dairy products :—Villagers rarely buy dairy products for consumption. On the other hand the growing tendency is to sell all they produce. Milk is having an increasing demand from the tea-shops. Those who cannot sell off their stock of milk, turn it into curds which are churned into butter-milk and butter is sold. The number of families which consume all the dairy products that they produce is very small. The owners of cows do not milk their animal if the calf is a bull-calf. Those who maintain a she-buffalo, sell as much of milk or curds as they possibly can, and consume as little as possible. Only butter-milk is used liberally. It is also given free to the neighbours on request. With most of the families that own a she-buffalo, the per capita consumption of milk is not more than a 'cup' per day, and that of butter is not more than 2 lbs. per year. It is only the milk of the goat that is freely used as it commands no market. The poor people in particular maintain a goat or two and use its milk.

(H) Meat :—The Lingayats, the Brahmins and Panchals are vegetarians. Among the rest of the castes the Harijans and some poor families use beef as it is available at cheap rates. Those who can afford prefer mutton, particularly that of a goat. Hens and cocks are reared by many of the non-vegetarian families to be ultimately butchered and consumed. The Korvars and some families of other castes eat the flesh of pigs. Vaddars, the Chchattris and the Berads go occasionally to hunt deer and wild fowls. The Korvars, the Uppars and the Gondaligas can be seen angling for fish in the waters of rivers or ponds,

It is not possible to calculate the amount of flesh consumed by an adult on an average.

Eggs :—Many of the persons who keep hens, consume eggs. But number of eggs consumed by a person on an average cannot be determined.

(I) Stimulants and intoxicants : Tea-drinking :—Tea-drinking is threatening to be universal in rural areas. With many it has grown into a habit. Tea is available at the rate of 2 pices a 'cup' or a pice for a 'single' or half a cup. Many prepare it at home only. They buy a pice worth of tea-powder mixed with sugar and use it to prepare three cups of tea. Poorer people add goat's milk to the decoction and quaff it off from their brass plates which they otherwise use for eating. Usually women do not drink tea except among the Brahmins. But so great is the fascination for this drink that it is alleged that even women drink tea in the absence of their husbands. Many youngsters consider it a fashion to drink tea and no male who goes to the town or the bazar ever returns without having sipped a 'single' tea.

Tobacco :—Smoking of tobacco through the pipes is very common. Among the adults those who do not smoke are very few. But 'bidis' are not used by many. About 50 per cent of the smokers require $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of tobacco per week and for about 25 per cent, this quantity is sufficient for a fortnight.

Betel-nut :—Betel-nut is chewed by many people but only a few do so regularly. It is customary for the host to offer pieces of betel-nut to the guest after meals or tiffin. But the amount consumed cannot be easily estimated.

Betel-nut and Leaves :—Betel-nut and leaves are chewed only by some people. It is considered indecent for a woman to chew betel-nut and leaves. Average expenditure of those who use them is an anna per week on an average.

Snuff :—Snuff is used by a negligible number of persons.

Ganja :—The use of ganja is more marked among those who profess themselves as religious leaders or mendicants and

their followers. Not many people are addicted to this habit.

Opium :—Opium is used only by a few.

Shindi :—Shindi is an intoxicant which is tapped out of shindi trees that grow in the taluka. This is cheaper than 'Shere' and is largely used by the poorer people. It is said that it has a cooling effect and so it is not drunk during the rainy-season.

'Shere' :—'Shere' is another intoxicant which is drunk in summer by 'Shindi' drinkers and all the year round by richer people addicted to drink.

(J) Clothes.¹ :—The dress of the people is very simple. Men wear a 'shirt,' a dhoti and a turban. Coats are used by a few only.

(a) Expenditure per annum on the clothing of an adult male is as follows :—

	Minimum Rs.	Average Rs.	Maximum Rs.
2 shirts	1-4-0	3 shirts 2-1-0	1 coat 3-0-0
2 dhotis	1-4-0	3 dhotis 2-12-0	3 dhotis 4-8-0
Blanket, turban, rest	1-8-0	1 turban 1-8-0	4 shirts 4-0-0
		Blanket & rest 1-0-0	1 turban 2-8-0 Blanket 1-8-0
Total ...	3-12-0	7-5-0	15-8-0

The terms 'minimum,' 'average' and 'maximum' are not used in their absolute sense. There are many people who spend more than the amount specified here. The amount represents what the people think as 'minimum,' 'average' or 'maximum.' Rs. 15-8-0 is spent by not more than 10 per cent of the total males and Rs. 3-12-0 by not less than 20 per cent.

Poor people do not buy a separate turban. They use their old dhoti to wrap the head with.

¹ The prices given here are those that were ruling on 1-1-1940.

(b) Clothing expenses of a woman :—

	Minimum Rs.	Average Rs.	Maximum Rs.
2 saris of (Rs. 2 each lasting for $1\frac{1}{4}$ years)	3-3-0	2 saris 5-0-0 4 bodices 1-4-0	3 saris 12-0-0 4 bodices 1-8-0
3 bodices	0-12-0		
Total ...	3-15-0	6-4-0	13-8-0

Rs. 3-15-0 are spent by nearly 10 per cent of the women ;
Rs. 13-8-0 by about 10 per cent.

(c) Average expenses of a boy under 10 years are :—

2 shirts	Rs. 0 12 0
2 old dhotis	Rs. 0 8 0
1 new dhoti	Rs. 0 12 0
Total	Rs. 1 14 0

(d) Expenses of a girl below 12 years :—

Minimum Rs. 2	Average Rs. 3	Maximum Rs. 6
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(e) Average expenses on clothing of a family consisting of husband, wife and two children :—

i. that of the husband	7 5 0
ii. that of the wife	6 4 0
iii. that of two children	4 14 0
iv. one mat	0 6 0
v. one ' Kaundi ' or sheet for covering	1 0 0

Total ... 19 13 0

These expenses get proportionately less as the number of members increases. Younger brother is given the shirt of the elder who in his turn receives one from his elder. Expense on ' Kaundi ' does not increase with members as increased number of children are accommodated in the same Kaundi.

(K) Religious expenses :—(i) Contribution to fairs or festivals of local deities :—Every village has its village festi-

vals. Funds are collected from the residents to be spent on the festival day. Contributions are in cash, kind or both. Amount contributed is proportional to the social and economic status of the family. Usually the amount is fixed for a class. Those owning bullocks are charged double that of the labourers. At some places merchants are charged the highest. It is only in a few villages that the amount to be paid is left to the option of the giver. In most of the villages the average amount that a labourer's family has to pay is 8 annas. For a cultivating owner or tenant, this amount is Rs. 2-3 on an average. But the bigger cultivators, the landlords, and the Vatandars have to contribute not less than Rs. 5. The lower castes like the Harijans, the Vaddars, etc. are exempted from payment.

(ii) Contribution to Swamis or religious heads of monasteries:—Fixed income of many of the 'Swamis' is not large. Greater part of their income comes from the doles they receive from their devotees. During some months in a year they go on tour in villages to collect contributions. Amount contributed by a family is in keeping with its status and its devotion to the Swami. Every Swami has his own sphere of influence where he fares better than elsewhere. So he visits the village where he is likely to get good response. The amount paid to Swamis in villages under study is as given below :—

Amount paid in during 1940	No. of villages
Those that did not pay	5
Rs. 1-100	8
Rs. 101-200	7
Above Rs. 201	4
	<hr/> 24

(iii) Contributions to Guruswami or the religious head of the caste :—Only some castes like the Navis, the Das and the Korvars have their religious heads of the caste who are to be given some amount in cash or kind every year. The

Brahmins have also their Swami who sends his representative to collect dues for him. Amount to be paid is not fixed.

(iv) Offerings to Gods :—On all important holidays the house-wife has to take a portion of the dishes and offer them to the priest or put them in the baskets, specially kept for the purpose. In some castes like the Das, the Harijans, and the Uppars (in some places), every family is to arrange a feast to its caste-men in honour of the family deity every year or once in a few years. In some villages it is a custom that for every transaction in a she-buffalo the buyer and the seller have to place 'Nevedya' or the offerings worth a rupee before the local God and then distribute it among friends. On the occasion of the local fair, special offerings are made to God. In a village it is a rule that a family should throw at least one cocoanut on the chariot of the God when it is being drawn. In another village, on a single day of the fair, more than Rs. 300 worth of dates are hurled on the palanquin of the God. During the festival of lights in Kartika many families offer oil to be burnt before God. Besides these, innumerable presents are made with a specific aim.

Beggars :—Beggars of various description and designation visit the village. They can be classified as (i) the regular beggars and (ii) the occasional visitors.

Among the regular beggars the Ayya of the Lingayat priest comes first. He is to be served with a handful of jowar every-day. In some villages there are two or three such priests and few families serve all of them. In some villages the Muslim mendicant also visits the houses for alms. The Gurav or the priest of the village temple gives the flower 'prasad' of the temple-God to the people and collects his dues weekly. In some places he is paid dues annually like the hereditary artisans.

The Das and the Konchikorvars of the locality go about begging in the village. They are given pieces of bread only by those who have an unnecessary stock of stale-ones.

The Helvas maintain the geneological history of their client families. Each Helva visits his client once a year and

praises the ancestors of his client. He is given corn, old clothes and other articles.

(ii) Beggars who occasionally visit the village:—The jogatis or untouchable prostitutes visit the village particularly during the harvest season and beg a pice or $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of corn for a song. Then there are host of other beggars. Some of them are:—the palmists, astrologers, santas or devotees of God Vithoba, jangams who are sooth-sayers, the Gollas who exhibit the feats of monkeys or snakes, persons with a bear or a bull, the Gondalingas, the Bayas or muslim mendicants, the Deshavari Brahmins or those Brahmins of the Shrine who tour a begging etc. Even a poor man has to set apart a seer of corn per month to be given to beggars. An average family requires 2 srs. of grain a month on an average.

(L) **Consumption on holidays**:—Hindu holidays¹--Holidays are a source of an additional expenditure in as much as some extra dish is to be prepared on that day. Expenditure on holidays increases directly with the number of holidays observed. Brahmins observe all the holidays numbering 63² which are included in the Hindu Calender. In other words, a Brahmin family has a feast once in less than 6 days on an average. But the Lingayats do not observe all full-moon or no-moon days. Only the no-moon days of Chaitra, Shravana, Aswin, Margashirsha, Magh and Falghuna and the full-moon days of Jyestha, Ashwin, Magha, Falghuna and Chaitra are observed by them. The other holidays observed by them are Naga-Panchami, Ganesh Chaturthi, Dasara, and Basaveswar Jayanti. These 15 are the major holidays which even a poor Lingayat has to observe. Some well-to-do Lingayats observe minor holidays also. Non-vegetarian castes observe in addition to 15 given above two 'Beti' days. Some low castes like the Das and the Vaddar observe only the most important holidays of Yugadi, 'Kar-hunnive', Naga-Panchami, 'Bharat-hunnive' and 'Holi hunnive'.

1 For details refer to Hindu holidays included in the chapter on religious life.

2 Vide critical review of Hindu holidays.

Items of consumption on holidays :—The main items of expenditure on a holiday are : wheat, gram, rice, sugar, oil, butter, extra-spices, cocoanut, camphor.

(i) *Wheat* :—Wheat is required to prepare chapatis, to cover the 'holige'¹ over, and to prepare 'Huggi'². In regions where it is grown the per capita consumption of wheat varies from 6-10 srs. per annum. But in places where it is not grown the figure is as low as 4-6 srs. (ii) *Grams* :—Pulses of grams are used exclusively to prepare 'holiges'. It is grown all over the Taluka and its consumption per capita varies from 4 srs. minimum—7 srs. average and 10 srs. maximum. (iii) *Country sugar* :—Consumption of sugar is very elastic. People who produce it make a free use of it on holidays and others use as much as they badly want. Consumption of sugar is as high as 50 lbs. in sugar-producing families and as low as 4lbs. the average being 10 lbs. per adult. (iv) *Oil* :—Oil is used for frying 'holiges' or other articles. Its consumption is more or less the same, the per capita consumption being 4-5 srs. Only those who burn the lamp before God for nine days preceding Dasara require an additional quantity. (v) *Rice* :—Poor people use rice, only on major holidays. The per capita consumption of rice shows a great variation from 2 srs. to 10 srs. (vi) '*Navani*' corn :—it is used to prepare 'Tambittu'³ only on the Nag-Panchami day. About 2-3 srs. are consumed by an average person. (vii) *Spices* :—Special kind of spices to give a better flavour to the broth are used on some of the holidays. Its expense is not more than a pice per family per holiday. (viii) *Cocoanuts* :—Cocoanuts are not used in day-to-day preparations. They are exclusively used as offerings to God. Usually every family breaks one cocoanut on every no-moon day and on all important holidays that it observes. But some are in the habit of breaking cocoanut on every Monday. Again a few people break as many cocoanuts on a holiday as the total number of important Gods in the locality, one before each. On special holidays like the Dasara and Yugadi, some families break as

1 Pulse-cake, vide glossary.

2 A kind kind of sweet dish, vide glossary.

3 Vide glossary.

many as three or four cocoanuts before each of the Gods. Thus the number of cocoanuts broken before God and then consumed by a family in a year varies from a minimum of 15 cocoanuts to a maximum of about 100, the average lying somewhere near 25. (ix) Butter :—Only the rich consume ghee on holidays. Amount of ghee consumed depends on the economic position of the family. A family of six members requires at least half a seer on each holiday. (x) Camphor :—Average expenses per family on camphor come to 3 annas per annum. (xi) Miscellaneous :—The other items of expenditure are the fire-works during Ganesh Chaturthi festival.

Total consumption of an adult on a major holiday :—

<i>Kind of the article</i>	<i>For the cultivating class</i>	<i>For the non-cultivating class</i>
i. gram	1 3 sr.	1/5 sr.
ii. wheat	1 1/3 sr.	1/6 sr.
iii. country sugar	6 lb.	4 lb.
iv. rice	1/6 sr.	1/6 sr.
v. oil	1/6 sr.	1/6 sr.
vi. 'navani' corn	1/12 sr.	1/20 sr.
vii. spices	1 pice	1 pice
viii. ghee	5 tolas	8 tolas
ix. cocoanut	1	1
x. camphor	3 pies	3 pies

The actual amount spent by an agriculturist of the irrigated region who produces articles Nos. i, ii, iii, vi comes to 16 pies for the cocoanut and camphor. The agriculturist who does not grow wheat or produce sugar, has to spend 2 annas plus 15 pies for camphor and sugar.

(M) Miscellaneous items:—(1) *Expenses on fairs* :— A fair is held in many villages annually or once in a few years. Fair increases the expenditure in many ways.

(i) The friends and the relatives who come to the village to witness the fair are to be entertained to a feast. (ii) Female guests are to be presented with bangles, a bodice, or a sari. (iii) Members of the family are to be given a few coins each to

enable them to buy the things they want. (iv) Children of the family and of the guests are to be given some sweets.

Expenses on a fair are as high as Rs. 50 for a family which has numerous relations. Even a poor family has to spend about Rs. 2.

Expenses on guests are not very considerable. Special dishes are made only when the guest is a prominent one like the son-in-law or a rich relative. Otherwise the guest is served jowar bread and some vegetables.

Sweet-meats:—As most of the people are poor, few sweet-meats are prepared at home. Majority of children do not get anything beyond jowar bread. Some fortunate few get 'Chirmuri' or fried rice or 'chirmuri' pressed into balls with country sugar. These balls are brought for the children by the parents from the bazar. Some other kinds of cheap sweet-meats are also brought for giving them to children. Consumption of sweet-meats cannot be said to be great. Still a child can expect to get one pice worth of some sweet thing on the bazar day from its parents.

2. *Shaving*:—Barbar is one of the hereditary artisans who is paid in kind for his work at the time of the harvest. The member of the non-agricultural community has to pay a lump sum of a rupee and a half per year or one anna for a shave of the head or beard.

3. *Shoes*:—Shoe-maker is also one of the hereditary artisans. So the cultivator has not to pay the shoe-maker in cash. Males and females who own no land can get a pair of shoes at a rate varying from 12 annas—Rs. 1-8-0 which lasts for a year and a half. Children of the non-cultivating family go without shoes.

4. *Bangles*:—Bangles are a necessity to women as it is considered a sign of 'Soubhagya' or the state of having a husband, though widows also use them. Moreover they are considered as accessories of feminine embellishment. Women put on at least 4—6 bangles on each wrist. Village fair is the occasion when they buy new bangles. Bangles are sold at high prices and so even a poor woman requires per year 4

annas worth of bangles, the average amount required being 12 annas.

5. *Combs and other articles* :—(i) One or two combs costing an anna each are necessary per year. (ii) An anna more is required for the 'Kunkum' or the red powder which is used to mark the brow. The Brahmin and the Panchal woman who use Kumkum daily require about 2 annas for the same. (iii) Women who are mothers of some children apply 'jatuli' or black-tooth powder to their teeth to strengthen them as they say. Such women require about 2 annas for this powder per year. (iv) Women buy beads of various colour and size but the expenditure on them is not much.

6. *House repair* :—As walls of the houses are usually built of mud, they have to be smeared with mud-water every year to render them proof against cracking. Labourers do this work themselves and others engage labourers. Expenses of repair do not exceed a rupee or two.

7. *Utensils* :—In the ordinary course no family buys any metal utensils. Only earthen pots are purchased when the old ones give way. Expenses on new pots come to about 12 annas for most of the families. A few families buy cups or pails of brass at the fair. But the majority of families do not spend much on metal utensils.

8. *House rent* :—Most of the people own their own houses. Others put up in a spare house of their relative or friend. Only in some places where people from outside come to do some business or seek a job that houses can fetch some rents varying from a few annas to a rupee per month according to the size of the building.

9. *Fuel* :—No agricultural family buys any fuel. They use cotton or chillies' stalks, cow-dung-cakes, roots of jowar stalks, thorny bushes and the like. Only the land-less rich buy fuel. A cart of fuel which is sufficient for three months for an average family costs Rs. 3. Loads of fuel are also sold by Harijans for 2 annas a load; but it is not preferred as it consists of a few thorny sticks or branches.

10. *Soap*:—90 per cent of the people do not use soap for washing. Women wash their hair with maize-powder solution, tamarind juice, gram powder or washing soda. Males do not apply anything to the body. They rub the body clean with a soft stone or with their bare hands only. For washing the sari, no soap is made use of. The tendency to clean the clothes with washing soap is increasing among the males and particularly among the youths. Tablets of soap available for a pice or two are usually purchased instead of a bar; one tablet is used to wash a shirt, a dhoti and a turban. On an average nobody spends more than 2 annas a month on soap. Only in one village where more than 50 families use white Khaddar dhoties, the expenses on soap are 4 annas per head.

11. *Washing of cloth*:—Most of the families wash their own clothes. In places where there are washermen, their services are engaged only by rich cultivators or land-lords who give them bread everyday and dues at the time of the harvest.

12. *Grinding*:—Grinding of corn is done by the housewife only. Only the rich get this work done by others for a payment at the rate of a pice per seer. Recently grinding-Mills have been set up in four of the villages under study and they are becoming very popular. These mills undertake the grinding work at the rate of a pice per seer.

13. *Medicine*:—It is rarely that medicines are taken by the villagers on the first appearance of illness, and when they decide to take medicine they go in for those that are given free by the Government. It is doubtful whether annual expenses on medicine by a family ever exceed 8 annas on an average.

14. *Postage*:—Expenditure on post can be said to be negligible with the majority of the families.

15. *Education*:—Illiteracy in the village is proverbial. Education is not an item in the expenditure-sheets of most of the families and a few who send their children to School have to bear the following expenses according to the standard in

which their children are learning. Instruction is free in the schools of the Taluka.

(i) Infant class		(ii) Ist standard	
1 3 Slates	Rs. 0-9-0	1 Slate one	Rs. 0-3-0
2 Primer	0-1-0	2 Drawing papers	0-1-0
	<u>0-10-0</u>	3 Pencils	0-1-0
		4 Text books	0-2-6
		5 Blank papers	<u>0-1-6</u>
			0-9-0
(iii) IIInd standard		(iv) IIIrd standard	
1 Text book	0-2-6	1 Text book	0-3-6
2 Arithmetic book	0-4-0	2 Geography book	0-5-0
3 Geography book	0-4-0	3 Arithmetic book	0-5-0
4 Map-note book	0-1-6	4 Drawing paper	0-2-0
5 Drawing paper	0-1-6	5 Blank papers	0-6-0
6 Ink and pencil	0-2-0	6 Pencil and ink	<u>0-2-0</u>
7 Blank papers	<u>0-5-0</u>		1-7-6
	1-4-6		
(v) IVth standard			
1 Text book	0-8-0	5 Grammar	0-3-6
2 Geography book	0-8-0	6 Blank papers	0-8-0
3 History book	0-8-0	7 Drawing paper	0-2-6
4 Arithmetic	<u>0-6-0</u>	8 Exercise books	<u>0-3-0</u>
	1-14-0	+	1-1-0=2-15-0
(vi) Vth standard	Total expenses are		Rs. 3-8-0
(vii) VIth standard	" "		4-0-0
(viii) VIIth standard	" "		15-0-0

(including examination fee)

16. *Self-gratification*:—Few people visit professional prostitutes regularly. Married women who consent to establish illicit connections do not charge their lovers, much. Most of them are pleased with the present of a bodice-cloth, a sari being the biggest offer that is made to placate even an intractable adulterous woman. But the lover besides giving a present has to feast his lady-love with some sweet-meats occasionally to keep her pleased. On the whole the amount spent on gratification through immoral ways cannot be said very great.

17. *Amusement and entertainment*:—Very few people actually spend on means of diversion like cinema, circus or dramas. In most of the cases the amount spent does not exceed a rupee per year.

CHAPTER VI

Rural Expenditure.

Explanatory notes on the terms and the method used :—

1. *Expenditure on staple food* :—It is the universal practice in the rural areas to grind in the morning so much corn as is required for the day to prepare bread and 'uuchchu.' So by a simple question the consumption of staple corn per day was obtained. From this, yearly consumption was calculated which was further changed into its money's worth at a uniform rate of 18 srs. a rupee which represents the average rate of jowar per rupee for the period of 1-1-1940 to 1-6-1940

2. It is said earlier that the house-wife goes to the weekly bazar or market place to make purchases of her weekly requirements of miscellaneous articles which are not produced at home. The things usually purchased in the bazar are spices, oils, match-box etc. The amount spent on these articles varies from family to family according to its purchasing power, standard of living and membership. These weekly expenses which are known in popular parlance as 'bazar' expenses vary from two annas in case of poor families to Rs. 3- in the case of the richer few. But in the case of the same family the bazar expenses do not vary much from week to week. Only during the harvest season the expenses are a bit higher but during the rains they are lower than the average. The family was asked its bazar expenses of the harvest time and those during the rains. The average is taken as the bazar expenses, of that family.

3. *Dairy products* :—Only the dairy-products which are paid for are included.

4. *Stimulant* :—This include expenditure on tea and sugar, tobacco and match-box, bidis, betel-nut and leaves, and snuff. Firstly the number of tea-drinkers in the family was ascertained and then the place of their drinking. When the place of drinking was the teashop, amount spent on tea was calculated at the rate of 2 pice a day per person ; the rate of a

pice per day per person is taken when tea was prepared at home. When a person was suspected to be a hard-drinker, the amount was calculated after knowing from him the number of times he takes tea in a day and his average expenditure. Expenditure on tobacco, snuff and betel-nut and leaves was found out by asking for the amount spent on each per week.

5. *Meat* :—Includes meat of any animal that is eaten. Monthly expenses were asked and from that annual expenses were calculated.

6. *Intoxicants* :—These include ganja, opium, shindi and shere. We cannot expect the person addicted to intoxicants to confess his weakness. Much less to give us the actual amount spent by him during the year. This information had to be collected from others only and so cannot be claimed to be very reliable.

7. *Clothes* :—Include 'shirt,' dhoti, and 'coat' of the adult male, the sari and bodice of the adult female, and dress of small children. Other clothing requirements of the family, namely, blankets, jamakhana or carpet, mats, 'chaddars' and 'kaundi' are also included.

By a question or two it was ascertained whether the family used the 'maximum,' 'average' or 'minimum' clothing. Then the amount spent was calculated according to the scale given elsewhere.¹ Only when it was doubted that the family was using more than the 'maximum' that the detailed inquiry was made before the amount was entered in the schedule.

Interest :—Amount actually paid as interest is included.

8. *Group of miscellaneous items* :—These include : (i) Expenses on feasts and festivals. (ii) Religious expenses, (iii) Repair and replacement, (iv) Fairs, (v) Any other not included under any other head.

It is supposed that every family observes the holidays that are considered as the minimum.² By asking a question or two

1. Vide chapter on consumption.

2. Vide chapter on consumption.

it was found out as to how many of the holidays other than those that were included in the minimum, were observed by the family. Taking 16 pies as the expenses on a feast on a major holiday per adult unit and 15 as the number of minimum holidays observed, one rupee is roughly calculated as the expenses on feasts per year of a cultivator who grows country sugar, wheat, gram, and navni corn. The corresponding figure for those who do not produce sugar, wheat or gram is supposed as 2 Rs. For those who grow all things but sugar the figure accepted is 1—8—0 and for those who do not grow gram or wheat, the figure accepted is 1—12—0. According to these rates, expenses on feasts of a family are calculated according to the strength of the family in adult units. To the figure so obtained an amount of one rupee is added as expenditure on cocoanuts and camphor.

But in all cases in which expenditure seemed to be unusually large, special inquiries were made.

Religious and other expenses are separately calculated for each family.

The term 'expenditure':—From the explanatory notes given above it can be gathered that the term expenditure is used for the amount actually spent on consumption—goods by the family. It does not include the money value of goods, if the staple food is excepted, which were produced at home or were obtained free. Thus expenditure represents money value of that part of consumption only, that was actually paid for. This meaning of the term is to be borne in mind while interpreting statistical figures relating to this chapter.

Secondly, it is also to be remembered that 'expenditure' is used to mean only 'ordinary' expenditure as distinct from extra-ordinary expenditure. The characteristic of the latter can be said to be, (i) that it is not incurred to meet every day needs, (ii) that it is not a regular feature of annual expenditure of a family, (iii) that this kind of expenditure is usually heavy—generally more than the family can afford. To give concrete instances, the following kinds of expenses can be glassed as extra-ordinary expenditure :—(i) marriage expenses,

(ii) expenses on bed ceremony or on any other ceremony, (iii) expenses incurred to effect wholesale improvements in land, (iv) expenses on building a new house, (v) expenses on digging a new well, (vi) expenses on agricultural tools, implements or live-stock (if the amount exceeded Rs. 190 in each of the cases), (vii) expenses on serious illness, (viii) expenses on higher education, (ix) maternity expenses (exception :— in the cases of joint families as maternity expenses are incurred every year, they are considered as ordinary expenditure). Extra-ordinary expenditure is not included in the total expenditure of the family. and is shown separately.

Scope and utility of the Chapter :—Details about rural consumption are dealt with in the last chapter. As the villagers do not pay for all they consume, it is not possible to determine expenditure of families on the basis of actual consumption unless day-to-day accounts of articles consumed by each member is maintained. When budgets of many families are to be studied, it is well nigh impossible for one man to collect his data on the basis of consumption only. On account of these difficulties the student of rural family budgets is forced to satisfy himself with the data about expenditure in terms of actual amounts spent. Expenditure figures of this type are open to serious objections on account of their imperfect nature. But it can be pointed out that this element of imperfectness is unavoidable as long as the rural man does not buy or keep an account of all he consumes. In spite of defective nature of these expenditure figures, a study of them has its own utility. Firstly, it discloses the factors which influence expenditure of rural families. When compared with the figures representing income, expenditure figures point out the nature of the budget, whether a surplus or a deficit one. Moreover, a study of the percentage expenditure on different items gives an insight into the nature of rural poverty and the extent to which expenditure is distributed equi-marginally by the rural people towards the satisfaction of different wants.

To make comparisons between classes more effective attempts are made in this Chapter to work out expenditure figures representing the standard of life of each class.

No. 31:—Statement showing the average expenditure per family and distribution of families according to expenditure groups.

Economic class	Average expenditure per family	Percentage distribution of families according to expenditure groups in rupees		
		1-150	151-400	Above 400
Owners ...	242	32.4	51.1	13.5
Tenants ...	201	41.7	53.9	4.4
Labourers ...	109	86.4	13.6	—
Traders ...	239	41.3	40.2	18.5
Artisans ...	219	31.5	62.9	6.6
Servants ...	249	36.6	49.7	13.7
Harijans ...	173	53.	44.	3.
All ...	198	50.2	42.5	7.3

Expenditure per family:—From statement No. 31 it can be seen that the average expenditure per family is Rs. 198. The average expenditure per family is the highest among the servants and the least among the labourers. In the highest expenditure group of Rs. 40 and above traders are more numerous. It is very striking that there are no families in the highest expenditure group among the labourers most of whom spend less than Rs. 150. Compared with the labourers, the Harijans are better distributed in the three expenditure groups. Artisans are more numerous in the expenditure group of Rs. 151-400 but in the group of Rs 1-150, their percentage is the least when compared to other classes.

Real Expenditure per family:—Statement No. 32 shows the average extra-ordinary expenditure per family per annum.

If these are added to the average expenditure per family of that class we get the average real expenditure as follows :—

Rs. 215 for all, Rs. 285 for owners, 224 for tenants,

Rs. 118 for labourers, Rs. 270 for traders, Rs. 236 for artisans.

Rs. 277 for servants, Rs. 179.5 for Harijans.

No. 32 :—**Statement giving the estimated average extraordinary expenditure per family per year according to classes.**

Description of extra-ordinary expenditure	Expenditure in rupees							
	All	Owners	Tenants	Labourers	Traders	Artisans	Servants	Harijans
Marriage and bed ceremony	10	30	15	5	15	10	15	5
Maternity expenses ...	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	·5
Illness ...	1	2	1	1	3	1	3	—
House ...	2	4	2	1	5	2	3	—
Miscellaneous ...	3	6	3	1	6	2	4	1
All ...	17	43	23	9	31	17	28	6·5

Per Capita expenditure :—The criticism made against the method of indicating the economic condition of families by their total income holds good in respect of the usual method of showing the spending habits of a family by its total expenditure or those of families by expenditure groups. The better method, here too, is to classify families according to the per capita expenditure of their members and statement No. 33 gives information about this.

No. 33 :—Statement showing the average per capita expenditure and distribution of families according to per capita expenditure groups.

Economic class	Average expenditure per capita ¹	Percentage distribution of families according to per capita expenditure groups in rupees		
		1-25	26-50	above 50
Owners ...	38.1	15.1	59.4	15.5
Tenants ...	30	36.4	59.6	4.0
Labourers ...	25.2	56.4	42.4	1.2
Traders ...	43.8	9.8	61.9	28.3
Artisans ...	38	15.9	69.8	14.3
Servants ...	42.9	20.6	55.8	23.6
Harijans ...	29.6	44.	47.6	8.4
All ...	33.6	31.6	57.4	11

The per capita expenditure is Rs. 33.6. 11 p. c. of the families have a per capita expenditure of Rs. 51 and above. The per capita expenditure is the highest among the traders. 28.3 p. c. of the traders have a per capita expenditure of Rs. 51 and above and 9.8 p. c. less than Rs. 26. The per capita expenditure is the least among the labourers, 5.4 p. c. of whom spend less than Rs. 26 per head the average being Rs. 25.2. Harijans spend more than the labourers, the average per capita expenditure among them being Rs. 29.6. 8.4 p. c. of the Harijan families have a per capita expenditure of above

1. This is calculated from Table No. 41. Figures for the per capita income in the family obtained by dividing the average expenditure per family by the average number of members in the family of that class are 37.2 for owners, 30.2 for tenants, 24 for labourers, 43.8 for traders, 42.2 for servants, 28.4 for Harijans, and 33.6 for all.

Rs. 50 whereas there are only 1.2 p.c. families among labourers, who spend this amount per head. Servants are next to traders as far as per capita expenditure is concerned. 55.9 p. c. of the families among servants have a per capita expenditure of Rs. 25-50. Among the artisans the percentage of families spending Rs. 26-50 per head is 69.8.

Average Expenditure per Adult Unit.—Average expenditure per adult unit¹ in a family is Rs. 46. The corresponding figures for different classes are Rs. 54, for owners, Rs. 41, for tenants, Rs. 31, for labourers, Rs. 60, for traders, Rs. 51, for artisans, Rs. 57, for servants, Rs. 39 for Harijans and Rs. 60, for mill servants.

The meaning of the 'term' as it is used in the chapter should be kept before view in drawing conclusions from these figures. Because, the expenditure figure of artisans which is higher than that of owners should not be mistaken as indicating greater consumption by the former. As the artisans have to buy many things like fuel and vegetables which owners generally get free the expenditure of the former is high only apparently. Comparisons cannot be made unless expenditure figures are made to represent consumption to the same extent in the case of both. To make comparison effective an attempt is made below to work out the expenditure figures for each class on the basis of consumption taking the expenditure figures for the mill-servants as the standard. This standard is specially chosen as it is the class which buys articles consumed by it to a larger extent than any other class.

Statement No. 34 gives the approximate money value of things consumed by an adult unit of each class but not accounted in the expenditure figures. If these figures are added to expenditure figures we get the adjusted expenditure figures for an adult unit of each class as follows:—Rs. 60 for mill-hands, Rs. 87 for owners, Rs. 69 for traders, Rs. 67 for servants, Rs. 58.9 for artisans, Rs. 59 for tenants, Rs. 45 for Harijans, Rs. 41 for labourers. It can be seen from these

1. These figures are obtained by dividing the average expenditure per family by the average number of adult units in a family of that class.

figures that the standard of life of the owners is the highest and that of the labourers is the lowest. Even Harijans spend more than the labourers, but it would be seen later that the greater expenditure of Harijans is due to their greater expenditure on intoxicants. Taking mill-hands as the standard we find that if owners, traders and servants are excepted all other classes lead a standard of life which is lower to that of mill-hands.

No. 34 :—Statement showing the approximate money-value of things consumed by an adult of each class but not accounted in expenditure figures.

Name of the thing consumed				Approximate money value in rupees						
				Owners	Tenants	Labourers	Traders	Artisans	Servants	Harijans
Cereals	...	...		8	5	1	2	2	2	...
Vegetables	...	...		6	3	3	1	1	1.5	.5
Chilly	...	...		1.5	1.5	1	.5	.5	1	.5
Onions	...	...		.5	.5	...	.5	...	...	...
Green corn	...	...		1.0	1.	2	...	1	1	.5
Fuel	...	...		1.0	1	1	...	1	.5	1
Dairy products	...	...		8	3	2	3	1	3	.5
Shaving	...	...		1	1	...	...	.4	...	1
Shoes	...	...		1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Miscellaneous	...	...		5	2	1	2	1	1	1
Total	...	...		33	18	11	9	7.9	10	6

No. 35 :—Statement showing the influence of region on the per capita expenditure.

Economic class and region	Average per capita expenditure	Percentage distribution of families according to expenditure groups in rupees		
		1-25	26-50	Above 50
Owners ... (irrigated)	44.6	10.5	69.	23.5
Owners ... (non-irrigated)	36.2	17.1	69.1	13.8
Tenants ... (irrigated)	30.4	33.7	62.9	3.4
Tenants ... (non-irrigated)	29.5	38.2	57.4	4.4
Labourers ... (irrigated)	28.7	49.7	48.8	1.5
Labourers ... (non-irrigated)	30	51.5	41.2	7.4

Per capita expenditure and region :—From statement No. 35 it can be seen that the per capita expenditure of owners of the irrigated region is 23 p. c. more than that of the non-irrigated one. 20.5 p. c. of the families of owners class of the irrigated region spend more than Rs. 50 per capita. There is no considerable difference between the per capita expenditure of the tenants of the irrigated and non-irrigated region. In the case of labourers, figures show that average expenditure is more in the non-irrigated region than in the irrigated one. Only 1.5 p. c. families of the irrigated region among labourers spend more than Rs. 50 per capita whereas there are 7.4 p. c. families in the non-irrigated region who spend the same amount. But it can also be noticed that the percentage of families in the lowest per capita expenditure group of

Rs. 1-25 is lowest in the irrigated region than in the non-irrigated one.

Average per capita expenditure and percentage of children in the family.—No. 36, Statement shows the average expenditure per capita for varying percentage of children in the family.

No. 36 :—Statement¹ showing the average expenditure per capita for varying percentage of children in the family.

Percentage of children in the family	Average per capita expenditure
0	45.2
1-50	37.8
11-20	37.1
21-30	40
41-50	34.2
51-60	30.3
61-70	26.8
71-80	24.9
81-90	...
91-100	...

Conclusions from Statement No. 36 are :—(i) The average per capita expenditure is the highest when there are no children in the family. (ii) It is the least when there are 70-80 p. c. of children. (iii) The average per capita income falls as the per centage of children in the family increases.

1. Statement is prepared from Table No. 43.

No. 37 :—**Statement¹ showing the average percentage of expenditure on different items according to classes.**

Economic Class	Average percentage expenditure						
	Staple food	Bazar expenses	Meat	Stimulants and in-toxics	Clothes	Interest	Miscellaneous
All ...	43.3	12	1.9	7.8	13.6	3.5	15.8
Owners ...	38.6	12.9	.9	5.6	14.1	4.7	18.9
Tenants ...	45.1	11.1	2.1	5.9	14.8	4.2	15.7
Labourers ...	50	13.6	1.8	6	13.5	2.2	11
Traders ...	27.9	13.8	1.4	10.9	16.4	2.4	20.4
Artisans ...	35.6	13.3	1.9	11.8	12.6	2.5	16.3
Servants ...	32.9	13.2	2	9.9	15.7	3.5	17.9
Harijans ...	45.8	7.5	5.3	11.4	9.1	5.5	8.5

But when the percentage of children is 21-30 or 41-50, there is an increase, contrary to the general rule.

Percentage expenditure on different items :—

1 Staple food :—The average percentage expenditure on staple food is 43.3. In the case of labourers it is as high as 50. Among them 64.1 p. c. of the families spend more than 50 p. c. of their total expenditure on staple food. Among Harijans also the percentage of families spending more than 50 p. c. of their total expenditure on staple food is high, being 41.5. The average percentage expenditure is 45.8. There is no family among labourers or Harijans whose percentage expenditure

1. Statement is prepared from Table Nos. 44-49.

Percentage expenditure on dairy products is not included as it is of minor importance.

on staple food is less than 15. In the case of traders the average percentage expenditure on staple food is the least, being 32.9. Among them there are 6.5 p. c. families who spend less than 15 p. c. of their expenditure on staple food and there are no families which spend more than 60 p. c. If economic condition may be ascertained by the percentage expenditure on staple food, traders can be said to have the highest standard of life and servants rank next to traders. Among servants no family spends more than 70 p. c. of its expenditure on staple food, but there are 8.4 p. c. families which spend less than 15 p. c. Tenants like Harijans spend 45.1 p. c. of their expenditure on this item on an average. 29.3 p. c. among them have a percentage expenditure of more than 50 on staple food and there are only .8 p. c. families who spend less than 20 p. c.

2 Bazar Expenses :—It seems from Statement No. 37 that average percentage expenditure on bazar expenses does not vary much. In the case of Harijans only, the average percentage expenditure on bazar expenses is 7.5 whereas in other classes it varies from 12–14. There are not many families whose expenditure exceeds 20 p. c. Only in the case of artisans who have to buy many things which the cultivators grow for themselves, there are 13.8 p. c. families whose percentage expenditure on bazar expenses is above 20.

3 Meat :—Percentage expenditure on meat is very small, the average being 1.9. 66.8 p. c. of the families do not spend anything on meat. As cultivating owners primarily belong to vegetarian castes the percentage of families spending nothing on meat among them is 88.4. The Harijans being non-vegetarians there are only 4.2 p. c. of the families which do not spend anything on meat. The average percentage expenditure on meat among Harijans is 5.3. It seems that even non-vegetarians do not spend much on meat. There are only .19 p. c. families who spend more than 20 p. c. of their total expenditure on meat.

4 Stimulants and Intoxicants :—Average percentage expenditure on stimulants and intoxicants is 7.8. There are only 10.3 p. c. families who do not spend anything on these items. In case of traders who are largely addicted to stimulants,

the percentage expenditure on stimulants and intoxicants is being 10.9 on an average. More is spent on these items by artisans than by any other class the average percentage expenditure being 11.8. 16.8 p. c. of artisans spend more than 20 p. c. of their expenditure on these items. In the case of servants, 12.9 p. c. of the families spend more than 20 p. c. of their expenditure on these items. Among Harijans who are given to drinking, these items account for 11.4 p. c. of the total expenditure on an average. With them these constitute an important item of expenditure only next to staple-food.

5 Clothes :—The average expenditure on clothes is 13.6. In the case of 65.9 p. c. of the families expenditure on clothes does not exceed 15 p. c. of their total expenditure. Only traders and servants spend more on clothes. The average percentage expenditure on clothes is 16.4 among traders and 15.7 among servants. 19.6 p. c. of the families among traders and 15.3 p. c. among servants spend more than 20 p. c. of their expenditure on clothes. But there are no families among Harijans who spend more than 20 p. c. on clothes. The average percentage expenditure on clothes among Harijans is also low being only 9.1.

6 Interest :—The average percentage expenditure on interest is 3.5. In the case of Harijans it is 5.5. Owners also spend 4.7 p. c. their total expenditure on interest on an average. 22 p. c. of the owners spend more than 10 p. c. of their expenditure on this item. Among tenants interest accounts for 21.2 p. c. of the total expenditure on an average and the percentage of families who spend more than 10 p. c. of their total expenditure is 18.7. But in the case of traders the percentage of families spending more than 10 p. c. on interest is only 9. Among servants there are no families who spend more than 20 p. c. on this item and the average percentage expenditure is 3.5.

7 Group of Miscellaneous items :—Percentage expenditure on the group of miscellaneous items can be taken as a good indicator of the standard of life. Because, the poorer classes cannot spare much to be spent on these items and only classes

like the owners and traders who are comparatively better off can spend more on these items. The average percentage expenditure on miscellaneous items is 15.8. But in the case of labourers and Harijans it is 11 and 8.5 respectively. On the other hand, traders spend 20.4 p. c. and owners 18.9 p. c. of their total expenditure on an average. The percentage of families spending more than 30 p. c. of their expenditure on this is 14 among owners, 11 among servants and 9 among traders.

- **Nature of Budgets:**—Figures of income and expenditure per family on an average for different classes is given elsewhere. It can be seen from these figures that the balance of income over expenditure of a family is Rs. + 54 in the case of owners, Rs. - 3 for tenants, + 9 for labourers, + 19 for traders, + 20 for artisans, + 27 for servants, - 1 for Harijans and + 18 for all.

It seems from these figures that an average family has no deficit. In this respect the average is very misleading as it misrepresents facts. Table No. 51 shows that only 57.1 p. c. of the families have surplus budgets, the average surplus being Rs. 47. The percentage of families having deficit budgets is 28.3 and the average deficit is Rs. 22. The percentage of families having deficit is 21 among owners, 47.1 among tenants, 26.7 among labourers, 19.6 among traders, 19.9 among artisans, 28.2 among servants, 26.5 among Harijans.

For calculating the surplus we have taken into consideration only the ordinary expenditure. But every family has to incur extraordinary expenditure every now and then. So while determining the nature of the budget, extraordinary expenditure as given in statement No. 32 must also be included in the expenditure figures. When a balance is struck between the average income and average 'real' expenditure per family we get as follows:— + 1 for all, + 11 for owners, - 25 for tenants, 0 for labourers, - 12 for traders, + 3 for artisans, - 1 for servants and - 7.5 for Harijans.

If provision for extra-ordinary budget is to be made then 75 p. c. of the families among the owners' class who are having

ordinarily a surplus of less than Rs. 50 can be classed as those having no surplus. In the case of tenants, traders and servants if Rs. 25 be roughly taken as the average extra-ordinary expenditure per year the then percentage of families with real surplus budgets comes to 14, 45.7 and 35.1 respectively. If Rs. 12 be roughly supposed as average extra-ordinary expenditure per year in the case of labourers, and artisans and Rs. 5 in the case of Harijans then the percentage of families with surplus budgets comes to 39 for labourers, 58 for artisans and 38.6 for Harijans.

CHAPTER VIII

Rural Indebtedness.

Percentage of indebted families :—It can be seen from table No. 50 that 54·8 p. c. of the families are indebted. The percentage of indebted families is the largest among the Harijans being 77·7. Indebtedness is also common among tenants, 59·6 p. c. of the families among whom are indebted. The percentage of indebted families among servants is 56·5 and that among owners is 53·4. Among labourers 50·2 p. c. of the families are indebted. Percentage of indebted families is the lowest among traders, being 40·2 only. Among artisans also indebtedness is not so wide spread and only 47·5 p. c. of the families are indebted.

No. 38 ;—Statement showing the average¹ debt per family, per indebted family and per capita among economic classes

Economic class.	Indebtedness in rupees		
	per family	per indebted family	per capita
Owner ...	293	499	40
Tenant ...	188	316	28
Labourer ...	88	176	19
Trader ...	113	274	23
Artisan ...	107	226	18
Servant ...	223	395	38
Harijan ...	81	104	13
All ...	149	272	25

¹ Vide Table No. 50.

Extent of indebtedness :—Statement No. 38 shows that the average amount of debt per family is Rs. 149. In the case of Harijans, the average amount of debt per family is Rs. 81 only and that for labourers is Rs. 7 more than that for Harijans. The average amount of debt per family among artisans and traders is Rs. 107 and Rs. 113 respectively. Owners stand first in respect of the largeness of the average amount of debt per family and servants, the second. The average amount of debt per family among owners is nearly thrice as large as that among artisans and that among servants is more than twice as large as among the labourers.

Owners are more heavily indebted than any other class, 13.7 p. c. of families in this class are indebted to the extent of more than Rs. 600. Next to owners, is the servants' class which can be considered as heavily indebted. The percentage of families in this class who owe more than the average amount of debt per family of this class is about 26.5 and the families which owe more than Rs. 600 constitute 11.7 p. c. In the case of tenants though Rs. 188 is the average amount of debt per family, 25.3 p. c. of families are indebted to the extent of more than Rs. 200. The percentage of families who owe more than Rs. 800 is only 4.9 in this class as against 11.4 in the owners' class. Among traders there is no family which has debts of more than Rs. 1500, 26.1 p. c. of families or about 65 p. c. of the indebted families of this class owe less than Rs. 200. Poorer classes like labourers and Harijans have also got many of their indebted families in the lower indebtedness groups. Though 50.1 p. c. of the families among labourers are indebted, hardly 3 p. c. of families have debts exceeding Rs. 400 and none has debts exceeding Rs. 1500. In the case of Harijans, 47.6 p. c. of families or 61.3 p. c. of indebted families of the class are in the indebtedness group of Rs. 1-100 and there is no family which is indebted to more than Rs. 600. The average amount of debt per family in this class is the lowest in spite of the fact that the percentage of indebted families is the largest.

Average amount of debt per indebted family:—The average amount of debt per indebted family is the lowest in the case

of Harijans and that for labourers is Rs. 72 more than that for Harijans, whereas the difference between the average amount of debt per family among labourers and Harijans is only Rs. 7. Among labourers the average amount of debt per indebted family is exactly double the average amount of debt per family. The average amount of debt per indebted family among owners is Rs. 499 which is nearly five times as much as that among the Harijans. In the case of servants and tenants the average amount of debt per indebted family is Rs. 395 and Rs. 316 respectively.

Indebtedness per capita:—The average per capita indebtedness among owners is the largest among the owners being Rs. 40 and that among Harijans is the lowest being Rs. 13. The average indebtedness per capita is Rs. 25. The corresponding figures for different provinces as given in the Provincial Banking Enquiry Reports are : Bombay, Rs. 36; Madras; Rs. 32; Assam, Rs. 24; Central Provinces, Rs. 23; United Provinces, Rs. 25; Bengal, Rs. 20; the Punjab, Rs. 57.

Kinds of debts:—Debts can be classified as follows according as the duration of the loans and the objects for which they are borrowed.

(i) **Borrowings:**—Small debts are contracted to meet day-to-day needs and are generally in the form of small borrowings. The things borrowed are usually food stuffs or a few rupees and the person from whom they are borrowed is a friend, a relative or the local trader. No interest is usually charged on the amount borrowed. But in the case of a trader, though he does not charge interest directly on the things given on credit he overrates them, so, to the borrower the difference between the current prices and the prices he is actually charged is a form of interest.

Most of the debts of Rs. 50¹ and less can be considered as current debts. An idea of the current debts which customers owe to traders can be found from the amounts of arrears which are due. Inquiry in some market places showed that the merchants of one market had outstandings of Rs. 27,000 with their customers; those of another, Rs. 25,000; those of a third

(1) Vide Table No. 50.

Rs. 16,000. If the amount is calculated on population basis of that area, it comes to about a rupee per head.

(ii) Seasonal debts:—These consist of the amounts borrowed to finance the agricultural operations of the tilling season or for maintaining the family during the months from July to November. The cultivators of the commercial crops require a large amount to meet the cost of cultivation which includes charges on manures, bullocks etc. As few of the cultivators have capital of their own, most of them have to borrow in May from the Taluka money-lender or from commission agents on a promise - which is usually in the form of mortgage of the next year's produce - to repay during the harvest season.

Secondly, not a small proportion of the rural families find that they are short of food - stuffs before the harvest, either because they did not grow enough of foodstuffs or that they had sold them without keeping sufficient stocks. Such families usually borrow corn in July on a promise to repay $\frac{5}{4}$ th borrowed quantity in November when the khariff harvest is ready. This kind of debt in grain is also contracted in September on condition of repayment, at Rabi harvest. The rate is as high as 200 p. c. when the party borrowing is not very sound. The percentage of families who borrow grain is the least among the cultivating owners and tenants and it is high among other classes, if traders are excepted. Nearly 10 p. c. of all the families borrow on such a condition. This percentage is higher in the poorer regions. It is the highest among Harijans irrespective of place or region.

(iii) Short-term debts :—Short-term debts are usually contracted to meet expenses in part or in whole of such social ceremonies as that of marriage, death etc. They are sometimes contracted to effect improvements on land or for building a house. Those who have tangible credit in land obtain this amount from the Co-operative Credit Society of the locality. Some others who have security in gold get the amount from a money-lender by pawning them. A few others who have no solid assets to mortgage but who enjoy the confidence of the lender obtain it on a promissory note. The amount borrowed in all such cases is of a few hundred rupees, Debts

of Rs. 51,400 can be called debts of this type. In fact most of the debtors borrow for short-term only. Later on, they find they cannot repay the amount in time; so in course of time the debt becomes a long-standing one.

(iv) Long-term debts :—There is not much difference between a short-term debt and a long-term debt except that in the latter case the amount borrowed is larger and the object of borrowing in some cases at least is to pay off old debts. The time-limit for repayment is also longer. Long-term loans are invariably secured and in most of such cases the debtor is unable to pay back the amount.

Agencies of rural finance :—(i) *Co-operative Society* :—

Co-operative Credit Societies which are now established in most of the major villages are one of the important agencies of rural finance. It must be said to their credit that in spite of their many shortcomings, they have been responsible in bringing down the rates of interest. Credit is offered by these societies cheap and on favourable terms. Advances are usually made for productive purposes. On account of certain glaring defects which are inherent in democratic management of the societies, some people prefer to remain outside. Instances of reckless finance and mismanagement in the working are not few. Members of the society have their own ways and means of overreaching all the beneficial restrictions placed on borrowings. However, attempts are being made to minimize the defects. The credit is now linked up with marketing to serve the real interests of the members. The credit Societies are rendering useful service and are becoming increasingly popular.

(ii) *Money-lender* :—Money-lender finances nearly 60 p. c. of the debts. There are very few people in villages who carry on the regular business of money-lending. Most of the money-lenders from whom the villagers borrow come from the taluka place. Some of them are traders : some are land-lords and not a few are gold-smiths. Formerly money-lenders use to lend freely on personal security and on promissory notes only. But the innumerable legal restrictions that are placed

lately on their practices of lending have made them shy of lending. Still they continue to be the leading source of finance.

(iii) *Relatives and friends* :—Money-lending is carried on a small scale by many people who have hard cash. Those who have no tangible security borrow from their friends or relatives on personal credit only. It is difficult to estimate the extent of finance from this source but it can be roughly said that nearly 15 p. c. of the total debts are financed by them.

(iv) *The Pathan* :—There were Pathans in some of the villages. But now they are being driven out from most of the villages. In one village only a few families of Korwar and Harijan caste have borrowed some amount from the Pathans.

(v) *Among other agencies of finance may be mentioned* :—
(i) Government which advances Tagai loans : (ii) Land Mortgage Banks which provide long term credit.

Rate of interest :—Rate of interest charged depends upon :
(i) The kind of debt ; (ii) The security of the borrower ;
(iii) and the kind of the financial agency. Co-operative Credit Societies charge a rate varying from 7-10 p. c. The money-lenders charge about 7-10 p. c. on loans that are secured by gold and 9-18 p. c. on unsecured loans. No interest is sometimes charged when the lender is a personal friend or a near relative. The rate of interest is the highest in the case of small debts. It was pointed out that the borrower of corn has to return $\frac{1}{4}$ th the quantity after about 4 months ; it means that the rate of interest charged is 75¹ p. c. per annum. When the amount borrowed is a few rupees, a rate of one pice per rupee per month is usually charged. The rate of interest charged is higher in the case of borrowers who are poor, for, the risk involved in lending to such persons is great.

1. As the price of grain is lower at the harvest time when the grain is returned, when considered in terms of money value of grain returned, the rate of interest is less than 75 p. c.

No. 39—Statement showing the number and indebtedness group of families which are paying interest, those paying partly and those not paying.

Indebtedness group in rupees.	Total No. of indebted families.	Families not paying.	Families paying partly.	Families fully paying.
1—50	156	66	2	88
51—100	165	71	7	87
101—200	215	78	21	116
201—400	162	54	19	89
401—600	56	17	11	28
601—800	34	14	11	9
801—1000	39	26	7	6
1001—1500	19	12	4	3
1501—2000	16	8	6	2
2001	10	6	4	0
Total ...	872	352	92	428

Number of families not paying interest or paying it partly :—

Statement No. 39 shows that out of 872 families which are indebted, 352 families or 40.4 p. c. are not paying interest and 92 families or 10.5 p. c. of families pay it partly. In other words 49.1 p. c. of indebted families pay interest fully. It can be seen that the percentage of families which pay interest is small in the higher indebtedness groups. None of the 10 families which are indebted to more than Rs. 2,000 pays any interest. Out of 118 families which owe more than Rs. 600, only 20 families are paying interest. But in the case of families in the

lower indebtedness groups the percentage of families paying interest is larger. Out of 156 families which are indebted to less than Rs. 51, 58 p. c. are paying interest. The percentage of families paying interest is more than 50 in the case of those which are indebted to Rs. 1-600.

Reasons for not paying interest fully : —

No 40.—**The statement showing the reasons for non-payment of interest, (in the case of owners, tenants and labourers only.)**

Indebted- ness group in Rupees.	Reasons for not paying interest (in numbers which are explained below)					Total of fami- lies.
	1	2	3	4	5	
Less than 100	25	7	3	3	47	85
101—200	7	7	7	2	27	50
201—400	3	10	3	...	38	54
401—600	1	10	4	...	5	20
601—1000	...	9	...	2	25	36
above 1000	...	6	3	1	21	31
Total ...	36	49	20	8	163	276

i. Column No. 1 in the statment above shows the number of families who do not pay interest because their debt does not bear any interest at all.

ii. Column No. 2 shows the number of families who do not pay interest because the debt is 'ancestral' debt.

The characteristics of an ancestral debt are:—(i) It is made up of accumulated interest and sometimes it is only interest

transmuted into a new loan. (ii) It is contracted many years back by the father or grand-father of the present debtor. (iii) The creditor already received in the past a large amount in the form of interest. (iv) Creditor is not sure of proving his claim if he goes to the Court; so asks the debtor occasionally for interest, but never presses for it or takes legal action.

iii. Column No. 3 shows the number of families who do not pay interest purposely. The reason may be (i) the debtor may not be on good terms with the creditor; (ii) the case may be pending before the Court.

iv. Column No. 4 shows the number of families who have made a usufructuary mortgage of their land in lieu of interest.

v. Column No. 5 shows the number of families who cannot pay interest.

The following conclusions can be drawn from statement No. 40:—(i) In the case of families of lower indebtedness groups interest is not paid because debts of a large p. c. of families do not bear interest. Some others do not pay because they have already given the use of their lands in lieu of interest. The number of families who do not pay purposely for some reason or the other is also large. (ii) In the higher indebtedness groups Rs. 601 and above the reason for non-payment of interest is, in case of nearly 25 p. c. of the families, that their debt is of the 'ancestral' type. (iii) The most important reason for non-payment of interest in the case of families of each and all indebtedness groups is that the families are too poor to pay.

Causes of indebtedness :—Table No. 51 shows that a very large number of families have deficit budgets. This kind of deficits may be called ordinary deficits as they are the outcome of ordinary income being lower than ordinary expenditure. When a deficit occurs due to extra-ordinary expenditure,¹ it may be termed extra-ordinary deficit. Whenever a deficit, whether ordinary or extra-ordinary occurs, it can be met in two ways (i) by selling a part of the capital resources (ii) or by borrowing a loan. So a loan is taken only to meet the deficit. The causes of indebtedness then can be stated to be two.

1 For the meaning of 'extraordinary expenditure' refer to chapter on expenditure.

(i) the ordinary deficit (ii) the extraordinary deficit. In the case of all 325 indebted families which are shown under the column of deficit budgets in table No. 51, ordinary deficit may be considered as the cause.¹ In the case of other 404 families who are indebted, though they have surplus budgets, the extraordinary deficit may be presumed as the cause. It is difficult to say in the absence of detailed information what might be the cause of indebtedness in the case of 143 families who have neither surplus nor deficit in their budgets.

To speak broadly, 37.3 p. c. of the indebted families incurred debts to meet their day-to-day needs; and 46.3 p. c. have incurred debts to meet extraordinary expenditure.

Productive and unproductive debts :—Debts are commonly classified as productive or unproductive according as the objects of their borrowing. Those debts which are contracted for an object which does not directly concern production are considered unproductive by economists. According to this definition debts incurred for marriage or for any other ceremony are unproductive. To a great extent this distinction is not true for the following reasons :—

(i) Many of these social ceremonies have an economic significance. Rural economy of India is largely dominated by custom which is so powerful that in many places it even obliterates the working of economic forces. The economic status of a person or that of a family in the rural areas is invariably bound up with his or its social position. The social or economic status of a person is dependent upon the conformation of his behaviour to the existing customs and manners. To give an example, custom lays down that the village land-lord is to give a feast to the villagers whenever a marriage is celebrated in his house. If he does not do it, his social position is lowered and his economic position would also suffer, as his tenants would not give him the same service as they were wont to give. So if he contracts a debt to arrange the feast, it is productive in the sense that it was utilized for maintaining his social as well as economic status. This kind of debt can find an analogy in the expenditure of an

1 This is only a likely conclusion.

Insurance Company which arranges a garden party to a distinguished guest with a borrowed sum. It does not seem that any economist would call this debt of the company unproductive. There is no reason then, why expenditure on social ceremonies be looked upon as such.

(ii) The term 'unproductive' implies waste. Socially speaking is the money spent on ceremonies a waste? Does it not satisfy a social want? Does not the spender believe that it is his duty to spend on such occasions? Does the spender consider it a waste? Inquiries of the author show that all those who spend, really believe that they are not wasting money. The very fact that villagers incur debts on these occasions though they are fully conscious of pangs that indebtedness inflicts, show that they feel that money expended on these occasions is well-spent. For the villagers, expenses on ceremonies have a social utility. When judged from this point of view debts incurred for social ceremonies are not intended for wasteful ends. As long as social utilities remain unchanged, it is wrong to class debts on ceremonies as waste. Further, the loss of self esteem by non-performance of these in the standard form, and gain in self-esteem by their adequate performance ought to be a relevant consideration in the classification of debts.

Repaying capacity:—A debt can be repaid in two ways: (i) from the surplus of income over expenditure; (ii) or by selling a part or whole of the capital resources.

From Table No. 51 we can roughly estimate the number of debtors who can repay their debts within 5 years, from their surplus only.

325 families which have deficit budgets can never be expected to repay the principal they borrowed; so also 143 indebted families who have no surplus or deficit in their budgets. Then as regards indebted families which are in surplus groups, out of 110 families in the surplus group of Rs. 5-12, only 24 families which are in the indebtedness group of Rs. 1-50, can repay their debts within 5 years. Then out of 121 families in the surplus group of Rs. 13-25, only 49 families can repay within 5 years; out of 97 families in the surplus

group of Rs. 26-50, about 60 families which are in the indebtedness group of Rs. 1,200, can repay; out of 47 families in the surplus group of Rs. 51,100, 31 families which are in the indebtedness group of Rs. 1,400 can repay, and out of 29 families in the indebtedness group of above Rs. 1,000, about 11 families can repay. So it can be seen that only 175 families out of the total 872 indebted families can hope to repay the debt in 5 years, provided that they continue to get the same surplus and secondly that no extra-ordinary expenditure is incurred during this period. Since it is rarely that a family can remain without incurring any extraordinary expenditure for 5 years, our figure is definitely an over-estimate. On the whole, it can be said that the percentage of families which can repay their debts from their budget surpluses is very small. It means in other words that most of the debtors can hope to repay their debts by selling their capital resources or transferring them over to the creditor. Intensive inquiries reveal that a transfer of the ownership of land from the debtor class which is a cultivating class to the money-lending class has been going on, on account of the poor repaying capacity of the debtor to pay off debts from surplus only. It is difficult to obtain accurate statistics as regards this for all the classes. But a fair idea of the extent of this process can be formed from the statement No. 41 which gives the number of families among the labourers, who have lost their land during the last 10 years owing to indebtedness.

No. 41—Statement showing the number of labourer families in different acre-groups, who lost all, more than half or less than half of the area of land owned.

Total area owned in acres.	Those who lost all.	Lost more than half.	Lost less than half.
1—5	25	2	2
6-10	3	...	3
15-25	2	...	...

30 families have lost all their land. As the number of families among the labourers, who own land, is very small this figure is indeed very high.

There is every reason to suppose that the number of cultivating owners who have lost a part of their land must be equally great. In fact many of the tenants are those who cultivate the lands of others as they lost their own in debts. Some of the persons who are now labourers were once cultivating owners of their land which was taken over by their creditors.

CONCLUSION TO PART I

Statistics given in the foregoing pages prove beyond doubt that the per capita income in the rural areas is very low being only Rs. 38. This amount is not sufficient to meet all the needs of a decent life. Some families find it difficult to satisfy even their primary needs. 43 p. c. of the total expenditure is on the staple food only. Most of the classes with the exception of the cultivating owners, traders and servants have a standard of life which is lower than that of mill-hands. To be a mill hand on Rs. 10-15 a month is an aspiration with all the labourers living near about the mills. As daily wages are nowhere more than 4 annas a day, and employment not regular, the subsistence wages which the mill-owners hold forth is more than an attraction to the rural people. The condition of the Harijans is worse. To say that they are breathing will be more appropriate than to describe them as living in this world. Even the cultivating owners are finding it increasingly difficult to depend upon land for their income. With the tenants land is more a subsidiary source of income than the main occupation on account of the heavy rents that they have to pay to the landlord. Every rural family has to strive in many directions and all the year round before it can earn sufficient to make the both ends meet. Struggle for existence is so keen that even children and old men have to toil in the morning, if they want bread in the afternoon. In spite of their best efforts to earn more and spend less more than 50 p.c. of the families find themselves with deficit budgets. 28.3 p. c. of the families cannot meet even ordinary expenditure without outside borrowings or selling a part of their capital resources. This shortage of income over expenditure has landed 54.8 p. c. of rural families in debts. The presence of 40.4 p. c. of debtors who have defaulted interest primarily on account of their insufficient earnings speaks eloquently of the stage, the state of poverty has reached in the rural areas.

When this is the economic state, the birth rate gives room for alarm. Population of the taluka has increased in

spite of the operation of natural checks and it threatens to grow at the same rate, nay, even at a higher rate. For, no attempts have been so far made to control birth-rate in any way. On the other hand, plans and programmes are being chalked out to lower the death-rate. It must be said that any amount of success that attends to these would accelerate the growth of population and accentuate poverty.

The rural problem, as it stands at present, is essentially, one of decreasing the population and of increasing the per capita income.

The first problem is purely a social one and can be solved only by a suitable propaganda by the State and the public. The failure of the Sarda Act of marriage shows that legal enactments are futile to achieve healthy social reforms. Firstly, attempts have to be made to impress upon the people the importance of controlling births. Then the belief of the rural people that children are god's gifts which human beings have to welcome as they are born has to be done away with. Age at consummation of marriage has to be postponed to two or three years after puberty of the girl and arrangements have to be made to make the cheap means of artificial birth control available to the married people.

The problem of increasing the income is very complex and difficult to solve. Agriculture at present is a gamble in rains as well as in prices. Ways and means of increasing production and of maintenance of a fair price which should remunerate the producer have to be devised by the State, if success in this matter is to be achieved. This forms a subject for a specialized study. But it can be observed that this problem cannot be solved by haphazard and sporadic attempts at reform. No amount of patch-work, as it is done at present can give substantial relief to the rural people. Unless our rural economy is rightly planned and earnestly carried out, there shall be no appreciable improvement in the condition of the rural people in the near future.

CHAPTER VIII

The Religious Life

Scope of the Chapter :—Religious practices and beliefs are many. Full justice to the subject of religious life can be done only by a specialized study. As, such a study is not the purpose of this chapter, only some of the salient aspects of religious life of the rural people are dwelt upon here.

Relation between religion and worship :—The inexplicable still exists in the world. So also the element of chance. Spheres are still remaining which have not yet been penetrated by scientific knowledge. With rural man the domain of inexplicability is vast and the sphere of knowledge very restricted. Many things, which the educated man of the urban areas looks upon as obvious, appear mysterious to the rural people. The villager attributes all phenomena, which are beyond his control or understanding, to the operations of some agency which is not human. In other words, he believes in the existence of some super-natural agency which rules over human destinies. He considers that his fortunes are determined for him by these powers. It is his conviction that these powers must be kept pleased by him to get good fortune or to avoid bad fortune. Worship is supposed to be a potent means of keeping these powers pleased. Thus there is a close relation between the belief in the existence of supernatural powers and their worship. This relation between the two is no where closer than in the case of rural persons. A non-worshipper is called an atheist or a person who is sure to incur the wrath of gods. Such a person is shunned and hated. As nobody is prepared to incur social obloquy, or is in a position to bear it, it is not possible to find people in the rural areas who are not worshippers of common gods.

Objects worshipped :—Objects worshipped can be classified as 1 Nature, 2 Animals, 3 Idols.

1 Worship of nature :—Worship of elements like Air (Vāyu), Water (Āp), Light (Tejas) and Fire (Agni) is conspicuous

among Brahmins who follow vedic rites. Non-Brahmins do not worship these elements to any remarkable degree.

Among the trees, the Pippal, the Bilva, the Bunyan, the Audumbar and the Shami tree are worshipped.

2 Worship of Animals :—Among the animals bull, horse, cow, serpent, elephant and rat are worshipped on particular occasions.

3 Worship of Idols :—The idols worshipped are (a) the local Gods (b) the Sectional Gods (c) the family Gods.

(a) Local Gods:—**1 Hanuman :—**Among the local Gods (that is, Gods who are worshipped by all the people of the locality) Hanuman is very prominent. His temples are more numerous than those of any other God and many of the oldest Hindu temples in rural Karnatak are of this God. In mythology he is identified with Air and is described as a monkey-chief, who freed Sita from her bondage in Lanka. He is known by various names, viz. Balabhimā, Maruti, Hanumanta. His temple is usually situated outside the village proper, with a low entrance. The priest of this God is usually Chchatri. He is a bachelor-God and is considered as the God of strength, and the guardian of the village. He is credited with many powers the most important of which is that of conferring children on ladies. It is supposed that he can be pleased with an oil-bath. Saturday is 'His' special day, people come to his temple on this day in particular. An 'Okali' festival is held once a year in many of the villages in the name of this God. On this day, a pit is dug in front of this Temple and it is filled with red coloured water. Some strong public women of the Domber caste worship the pit and sprinkle some water on the God and the people. Then some men get into the pit, and begin playfully dashing water against the Domber women who beat them with reeds. This mock fight lasts for many hours.

2 Lakkavva¹ :—Goddess Lakkavva is as prominent as God Hanuman. Lakkavva, it appears, is different from Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth and wife of Vishnu, though a woman

¹ Avvā, Ammā or Tayi means mother, and is used in practice in an honorific sense.

having the name of Lakshmi is called Lakkavva. It seems for the following reasons that Lakkavva is Grāma-Devata or village deity and not Lakshmi :—(i) At some places there are two temples, one of Lakshmi and the other of Lakkavva and the latter is worshipped by all; (ii) Temple of Lakshmi contains an idol of Narayan and Lakshmi-temples are known in many places as those of Lakshmi-Narayan; (iii) At some places in the temple of Lakkavva, blood sacrifice is given; (iv) caste of Lakkavva's priest varies from place to place. Among the priests, there are Bedars, Kurubars, Uppars and even Talvars, (v) Temples of Lakkavva are older than those of Lakshmi.

3 God Shiva :—God Shiva worshipped by all and by Shaivites in particular. The image of this God is a 'Linga' or a cylindrial stone, fixed in the ground. Shiva is known also as Iswara, Somalinga, Kala-linga, Ramalingeswar etc. Gods whose name has the suffix of 'Iswara' or 'Linga' are generally to be taken as God Shiva only. The priest of this God is a Brahmin, a Gurava or Lingayat. An 'utsav' of this God is held in all villages on Mahashivaratri day.

4 Yellamma :—Goddess Yellamma is not so important a deity as Lakkavva. She is one of the local Gods, and is more worshipped by the lower castes like the Berads, Uppars, Kurubars etc. Devotees visit the temple on Tuesdays or Fridays. On the full moon day of the Magh, untouchable prostitutes break their bangles in front of the Goddess, and on the fullmoon day of the next month, they put on new bangles. On both of these occasions devotional songs are sung. A renowned temple of Yellamma is at Saudatti, in Belgaum District. Yellamma has some Muslim devotees also.

(b) Sectional Gods :—Among the sectional Gods of Lingayats Basavanna¹ is the most important.

Kurubars :—Kurubars have many Gods. Some of them are Bānusidda², Mardisidda³, Hāllappa⁴, Huttappa⁵, Kariyappa⁶.

1 Basava means bull, aṇṇā, means brother; but this term is used in honorific sense.

2 Bānu means sky, Sidda means omnipresent.

Mardi means grassland.

4 Hālu means milk; Appa, means father and is used in honorific sense.

5 Hutta means mount hill.

6 Kari means black.

Kariyavva, Keriappa,¹ Giriappa,² Revasidda, Birappa, Bharamappa, Vittappa.

Berads :—Uddavva,³ Holeyavva,⁴ Uddappa.

Harijans :—Durgavva, Santavva, Talidavva, Dyamavva.

Chchatri :—Mayavva, Siddaramappa.

Vaddar :—Karevva, Durgavva.

Uppar :—Maliraya.

(c) **Family Gods** :—Besides local and sectional Gods there are other Gods, which individuals worship at home only. Local or sectional Gods have temples and the priests. They are more or less public Gods. But many families have Gods of their own whom they worship themselves at home. Many of the families particularly those of lower castes do not maintain Gods in their house and adore only the local or sectional Gods.

Family Gods are usually idol-Gods brought from a holy place. When a person goes on a pilgrimage he brings the Gods of that place and worships them in the house. As Pandharpur is a popular place of pilgrimage many families have Idol of Vithoba and Rukhmini. Family-Gods among Lingayats are Shiva, Veeerbhadra, Mallikārjuna. Among Pāñchals they are Kalamā, Devammā; among Uppars it is Venkataramana of Tirupati.

Ways of appeasing :—The aims of worship, as pointed out above, are mainly two, viz. (i) to keep the God pleased so that he may not send ill-luck. (ii) To appease God so that he may confer good fortune.

When the person does not pray for the fulfilment of any special desire, no special ways of appeasement are considered necessary. Only general ways of appeasement are under-taken. They consist in visiting the temple, breaking the cocoanut before the God, giving food offerings on holidays, taking part in the festivals and offering prayers to him.

When the fulfilment of some particular desire is aimed at, general ways of appeasement are not considered effective. Some

1 Keri means tank. 2 Giri means mountain. 3 Udda means long.
4 Hole means river.

special ways are resorted to. The one way of appeasing is of promising offerings of special kind like that of flowers, sweet-meats, cocoanuts, plaintains, oil. Such offerings necessarily involve expenditure of money. It is to be noted that actual offerings are made only when the desire is fulfilled. The amount spent on the offerings is more or less proportionate to the importance of fulfilment to the person and his economic condition. The kind of the offering promised varies according to the supposed likes and dislikes of the particular God, the sex of the God, and the objects of his desire. Every God is credited with some likings. God Ganesh is supposed to like sweet-meats more, and God Hanuman, an oil-bath. Then offerings are in keeping with the sex of the God. A Goddess is usually promised a bodice-cloth, a sari or a nose ring. Lastly, the object of the desire also determines the kind of the offering. If a child is desired, a cradle or sugar or cocoanuts equal to the weight of the child is promised. For the cure of husband's illness a promise of a 'saubhagya chinha' or a metal piece of the size of the red mark on the forehead of a non-widow to a Goddess is considered a proper offer. The second way of appeasing consists in self-torture. The person fasts and observes what are commonly known as 'vratas' or vows. The third way is of performing special kinds of worship of the God to be appeased under the direction of the experts.

God is not only invoked to grant some desires but also is requested to give his opinion in certain matters. God is consulted while taking decisions on all important subjects, viz., buying new lands, building a house, selecting a bride. The most common form of consulting is by what is known as 'prasād' method. Some flowers wet with water are applied to the Idol, the flower which falls first is supposed to convey the opinion of the God. Interpretation of falling of flowers is an occult science by itself best known to the priests. The other method of eliciting the opinion of God is of 'drawing lots.' Some slips of paper with 'yes' and 'no' written on them are placed before the Idol and one of them is picked up. At some places, the priest gets 'possessed' and gives out oracles.

Superstitions :

(a) **Good and bad moments** :—People believe that certain moments are auspicious and others inauspicious. Anything begun at an inauspicious moment is supposed to end in failure. So the rural people choose the auspicious moment only for doing anything new or important. The Joshi or the astrologer is consulted before sowing, ploughing, reaping, or starting on a journey etc.

(a) **Omens** :—People believe that some signs, incidents, and objects forebode good or evil. Below are given some of the omens with their popular interpretation.

(i) Existence of a ' Atti ' tree in the gate of the village is good to the Patil and bad to the people. (ii) Residence of a barber in front of one's house is bad. (iii) If the light is put out while one is taking meals it is bad. (iv) If a person sneezes once it is bad ; if he does it twice, it is good. (v) It is good if one sees the face of a Kurubar on getting up in the morning. (vi) It is bad for the person if he sees the copulation of serpents. To nullify the effects, he must throw his turban on them or raise a false rumour that he is dead. (vii) It is bad if the inkstand tumbles down while writing. (viii) If a part of a sari gets burnt it is bad for the woman. To nullify the effects, she is not to use that sari. (ix) While a person is setting out on some business the following omens forebode 'failure.' (a) If children weep or obstruct the way, (b) if his leg stumbles against the door, (c) if the door is shut with a bang, (d) if anybody inquires as to the place of going, (e) if the right eye in the case of females and left eye in the case of males throbs, (f) if the crow flies from right to left or a cat passes from right to left, (g) if he sees a barbar, oilman, widow, or a person with a bare head, (h) if somebody is carrying milk, cowdung-cakes, fire-wood, basket, broomstick or pounding mortar.

(b) **Following omens fore-bode ' success':**—(a) if he sees a kurubar non-widow, or the tail of a fox, (b) if goats flap their ears, (c) if a worship is going on in the temple, (d) if right eye in the case of males and left eye in the case of females throbs, (e) if a male passes him from left to right or a female

from right to left, (f) if he sees a non-widow carrying water on her head, (g) if somebody is carrying curds before him, (h) if he has 'shami' leaves in his turban or carrots in his pocket.

(c). **The evil eye** :—Rural people believe that the sight of some eye has the power to do some 'evil' to the persons on whom it is cast. Every fair-looking object, particularly, a healthy child, a well built adult, a bride, a bride-groom or a pregnant woman is supposed to be the target of the evil eye. Even good bulls are not free from its attack. When the evil eye falls on these objects it produces certain evil effects. If the evil eye falls on a child the latter weeps too much, refuses to take food and gradually gets emaciated without any obvious disease. If it falls on a person taking meals, he gets an attack of diarrhoea or loses his appetite. Cattle stand still and do not graze when the evil eye attacks them.

The following precautionary measures are taken against the evil eye :—(i) Veiling the object, (ii) applying black pigments to the object, (iii) tying some amulets, (iv) making the object appear ugly in some ways. Remedies against the evil eye are (i) waving of water mixed with vermilion, (ii) waving of rice balls and throwing them off, (iii) waving of chillies, salt and mustard and then throwing them into fire, (iv) applying holy ashes obtained from a priest, (v) engaging the services of an expert who professes to cure.

Among other beliefs, that in ghosts, black magic, astrology, palmistry are important.

Hindu Holidays :

1. **Yugadi** :—1st of Chaitra (March-April) is called Yugadi or beginning of an era. This being a new year day of the Shalivahan era is a new year day for the Deccanis. Yugadi is considered as one of the three and half luckiest days in the year. "A pole is set up in front of each Madhwa's house, a piece of cloth is tied to the end of the pole and over the cloth is fastened a silver or other metal vessel." In the morning people take a bath of water heated with neem leaves. Brahmins have a feast of cakes and non-brahmins that of

'shyavige'. In the evening, people go to the leading temple where the reading of new year's almanac is being conducted. The estimates of rain, crops, and other general conditions of the village for the ensuing year are made out by the priests from the almanac and all people hear these from them. When the reading is completed rice reddened with vermilion is thrown on the almanac. 'Prasad' made up of tamarind quash, country sugar, gram, and neem leaves is distributed.

2. Beti:—On the next day of Yugadi there is Beti or hunting. Non-vegetarian castes like the *Chchattris*, the Marathas and the Kurubars get up early in the morning and start to some scrub plains for hunting. People of other castes accompany them to enjoy the game. After hunting for the whole day, the booty obtained is divided equally among all who take part in the hunting. The party returns in the evening. It first goes to the Chavdi or village Office to pay respects to the village officials and land-lords who give some 'Khusali' or tips to the party. At night they enjoy a feast of 'Holige' and meat.

3. Gouri Puja or Worship of Gouri:—On the third day of Chaitra Brahmin ladies perform worship of Gouri. An Idol having the shape of a female is carved out of wood and is called Goddess Gouri. A recess in the wall is usually selected as a seat for the Goddess. This place is smeared with cowdung and decorated with chalk powder designs. Its sides are painted with vermilion. A canopy of neem or mango leaves is suspended before it. After taking a bath, the house-wife keeps the Idol inside dressed in a sari. To the right of this Idol, Kalasha or metal pot containing water is kept and is called Goddess Gange. Wreathes prepared from pure cotton lint are put round each of them; 'Arti' is then waved in worship without accompaniment of any bells. At this time songs referring to mythological incidents of Gange and Gouri are sung by other women. Then dishes prepared that day are placed before them as 'Nevedya' or food offerings. In the after-noon non-widows are invited and their laps are filled by the host with rice, wheat, ground nuts, grams and some carrots. Turmeric powder is applied to their cheeks and 'Kunkum' or red powder to their forehead. From this day

onwards for a month, only the newly married girls visit the house of a non-widow every day to wash her feet and fill her laps with things like sugar-cane pieces, bananas, sweet-balls etc.

4. Rama Navami:—Ninth day of Chaitra is considered the birth day of God Ram and is observed by Brahmins and Marathas. Those who have an Idol of Rama worship it. Birth-day festivity or 'Utsav' is celebrated in the temple of Rama if there be one in the village. The Idol of Rama is put in a small cradle and devotees rock it one by one and throw a few coins in a box kept in front. In the evening the God is taken round the temple in a palanquin.

5. Hanuman-Jayanti:—On the full-moon day of Chaitra 'Utsav' is arranged in the temple of Hanuman to celebrate his birth-day. Devotees of this God prepare a feast at home and give 'food offerings' to God. At some places there are public-feasts.

6. Gouri-Puja:—On the 3rd of the dark half of Chaitra Goddess Gouri who had been set up in the wall is again worshipped in the same way.

7. Karagada Amavasya:—No-moon day of Chaitra is Karagada Amavasya. On this day people go to their fields and dine there. This is observed by all castes.

8. Basaveshara-Jayanti:—2nd lunar day of Vaisakh is the Birth-day of Basava, the founder of Lingayat religion. All Lingayats observe this day as a day of feast.

The day is observed by non-Lingayats also. Basaveshwara is held in high esteem by all the people and his teachings and precepts guide to a large extent the moral life of the rural people. The day is also observed as a social function when lectures are arranged on his life and teachings. At many places his portrait is taken in a procession. Among Lingayats there are female ascetics devoted to the worship of God and service of society. They are called Sharanammas. Lingayats can boast of many Sharanammas who rendered signal service to humanity and made contribution to the ethical literature of Karnatak. On Basava-Jayanti day, in particular, they per-

form "bhajan" and sing songs of famous mystics of Karnatak. A great congregation gathers to hear them.

9. Akshaya Tritoia :—The third lunar day of Vaishakh is known as Akshaya Tritoia. This is considered as one of the luckiest days of the year. Most of the cultivators do some spadework on their fields on this day. People begin anything new that they want to do on this day. Goddess Gouri is again worshipped. This time she is not donned in sari nor any cotton wreath is put round her neck. In the after-noon, laps of non-widows are filled and the Goddess is finally 'removed' and the wooden frame and other things are kept aside in a safe place.

10. Narasimha-Jayanti :—Full-moon day of Vaishakh is considered the birth-day of God Narasimha, one of the incarnations of God, and is observed by a section of the Brahmins who are the devotees of this God. On this day the Idol of this God is worshipped and 'holige' cakes are prepared.

11. Kār Hunnive or Full-moon day of Jyestha :—Full moon day of Jyestha is known as Kār Hunnive. Kar means a festoon and 'hunnive' means full-moon day. This is celebrated in all pomp by the cultivating class in particular. On the 14th day, only the feet, body and other parts of bullocks are washed by their owners who then apply holy ashes and kunkum to their foreheads and wave a sandle stick round them. That night they are feasted with huggi. On the full moon day they are again washed and their horns are painted with vermilion and oil. Pictorial sketches of various designs are drawn on their body with vermilion paint. In the afternoon they are feasted and their owners also feast themselves with various dishes. Then the bullocks are tied bells to their feet and are decorated in the best possible manner. Best clothes are put on their back and costly ornaments on the horns. In the evening, people of the village collect together and decorate in the best way two bullocks, one white and another red, belonging to 'Vatandars' or those holding alienated land. But no clothes are put on their backs. Garlands made of pieces of copra are put round their necks. Branches of neem leaves are entwined round their horns. Next, the bullocks are taken

outside the village to the accompaniment of music and then let free to race through the gate¹ of the village. Some obstacles in the form of some thorny plants or a rope held high horizontally, are thrown on the path. All the necessary shouts and cries are raised to increase the speed of the bullocks. While they are in full speed, many youths try to pick up neem leaves from their horns or copra pieces from the wreath and then distribute them among the people who mix them up with seed as they believe that such seeds ensure a better harvest. Between the two bullocks if the red one succeeds in entering the village first through the gate, it is considered that rabi harvest of that year would not fail. If the white one comes first, it is believed that khari^{ff} harvest would be very good. If one of the bullocks runs to another village the people of that village cut its tail. In that case the village from which the bullock came, cannot celebrate this festival.

After this race, individual owners parade their bullocks in the streets. On this day, some fried dainties are prepared for supper.

12. Mannettina Amavasya :—No-moon day of Jyestha is known as Mannettina amavashya or no-moon day of earth-bullocks. On this day, two dolls having the shape of bullocks are made from earth. In the noon they are worshipped, flowers are placed on them and sandal stick is waved. Then, there is a feast of 'holige' cakes. Even those who have no bullocks observe this day. During the whole of the next month, on every Tuesday, two fresh bullocks are made and worshipped but there is no feast.

13. Gullavva :— On every Tuesday in the month of Ashadha, girls and young women in some places go in the after-noon to the river side or to the water source of the village and there prepare an idol in the form of a female; it is called Gullavva. Girls sing, play and dance round it. They revel in all sorts of frolic till evening. Ceremonies like filling of the laps, applying of Kunkum are imitated. Boys enjoy the scene as active spectators.

1. Most of the villages have a gate.

On the last Tuesday of the month, idols prepared on the bank of the river are brought home and girls worship them in groups by waving a sandal-stick round it. Offerings of sweet dishes are made. Again, girls sing many songs in chorus. At night, it is taken to the river and drowned. It seems that this festival is observed only in Karnatak. No material is available to trace its origin nor is it possible to explain its significance. There are not many legends pertaining to this. The only legend that can be obtained says that a certain king had a daughter who in spite of the vigilance of her parents eloped with a love. This legend is too short and does not explain the whole thing. Songs sung on this occasion suggest that Gullavva is not a revered lady. At one place she is described as a woman who went to water coriander plants and became a mistress of a Kotwal or a head-watchman. In another song, she is threatened that the beard of her lover would be pulled out. There are other songs which speak disparagingly of her. Many of the songs sung on these occasions are indecent if not obscene. This is exclusively a festival of females.

14. Ashadha Ekadashi :—Every 11th day of the bright half or the dark half of a month is considered 'Ekadashi' or day of fast though few observe it. But the 11th day of the bright half of Ashadha is observed by Lingaysts, Reddis and Brahmins. The more orthodox of the people who observe this day taste nothing but water. Others feast themselves on dainties which are prepared from things other than jowar, rice or wheat.

The next morning those who had fasted, take a bath and help themselves to a feast.

15. Mondays of Shravana :—On all Mondays in the month of Shravana, Brahmins fast part-time and enjoy a feast in the evening.

16. Sampad Shukravat or Prosperous Friday :—Every Friday of Shravana is called Sampad Shukravat or prosperous Friday. On the first Friday, an earthen pot is filled with corn and is covered with a lid on which is drawn the face of Goddess Gouri. The pot is then worshipped in the same way

as Gouri. Only women take part in the worship. 'Holige' cakes are prepared on this day.

17. Naga-Panchami Festival:—The fifth day of Shravana is one of the important holidays which are observed by all the castes. On the fourth day of this month a serpent made from earth is worshipped. It is first annointed with milk and then sandal paste is applied to it; flowers, leaves of 'bilva' tree and 'karki' or fragments of green grass are placed on it and a sandalstick is waved. On the fifth day, again, it is worshipped in the same day. On this day and for some days before and after it, people enjoy themselves in all possible ways. Tambittu or sweet balls prepared from 'navni' corn and sugar 'alilu' or sweet balls prepared from fried jowar and sugar, are the chief sweets enjoyed during these days. 'Kadabus' are made on the Naga-Panchami day. People present their friends and relations with sweet-meats. Different kinds of games are played and puzzles are arranged during these days.

18. Gokulashtami:—It is believed that God Krishna was born at mid-night of the eighth day of Shravana. Brahmins and Reddis observe this day as a day of fast. At night, an earth Idol of Krishna is worshipped. Devotees place as many 'bilva' leaves on the Idol as they can secure. The whole night is spent in singing devotional songs of God Krishna.

Next morning it is worshipped again and people enjoy a feast. In the evening the Idol is drowned in a river or well.

19. Ganesh Festival:—On the fourth lunar day of Bhadrapada, God Ganesha is worshipped. This is one of the popular festivals. On this day, an image of God Ganesh, made of earth or paper is brought home according to the traditions of the family. It is seated in a specially prepared pandal and then worshipped. Offerings of 'modak' or balls made of riceflour, raw sugar, and kernal of cocoanut are made to the God. This day is enjoyed by people in various ways. Adults play games and children let off crackers. A feast of baked 'Kadabus' is prepared. Ganesh is worshipped for five,

seven or ten days according to the traditions or convenience of the family. Every day, offering of some sweet dish is made to the God. Finally he is drowned in a well or river.

20. Worship of Gange and Gouri:—On the same day, when Ganesh is worshipped, the pot which was worshipped on all Fridays of Shravan is placed by the side of Ganesha and is called Gouri. On the 7th day of Bhadrapada, another pot similarly filled with rice is waved before Ganesh and is placed on another wooden seat by the side of Gouri. This pot is called Gange. A piece of thread spun with hand and dipped in turmeric water is placed inside this Gange when a star called Anuradha, rises in the sky, and when a star called Jyestha rises, she is worshipped by the non-widow of the house and members enjoy a feast. When a star called Mula rises that thread is taken out, 'bilva' leaves, flowers, and some pieces of copra are tied to it and then it is worn in the neck by the woman who worshipped the pot.

In some places, a pot filled with water instead of one with rice is used as Gange. When the star of Anuradha is just rising, the worshipper goes to a river or well and gets the pot filled. It is brought back covered with a lid and placed by the side of Gouri. A thread spun by the same woman is tied to its neck. On this pot, sketches of the Sun, Moon, Cradle, and two foot-prints are drawn with a white chalk. Then it is worshipped. After five days, the thread is taken out and is worn by the worshipper having tied to it dry dates and pieces of copra. Usually Gange and Gouri are discharged or removed on the same day when Ganesha is drowned in a river or well. The pots are afterwards used for household purposes.

On the day of Dasara, the thread worn in the neck is taken off, worshipped and buried in a field.

21. Jokumar:—8th lunar day of the month of Bhadrapad is considered the birth day of Jokumar. Like Gullavva, Jokumar also seems to be a character of Karnatak village only. Like Gullavva too, much is not known about him. From the legends current among the rural folk it appears that he was a king who later on turned out such a bad debauchee that even

untouchable prostitutes got tired of him and ultimately he was made to suffer much and then killed. In one of the 'lāvani' songs sung in many places he is described as a son born of a prostitute when she seduced a sage by name Joka. Details about the present practice pertaining to Jokumar which are given below show that the first version about Jokumar is more correct.

Women of Ambig or boatmen caste alone, are entitled to carry Jokumar. Jokumar in an earth idol the face of which has the bearing of a king. Its long moustaches and a crown on its head suggest this. The idol has a penis which is particularly remarkable for its length.

Ambig women carry it from house to house in a basket. They are paid a coin or two. Some people give them butter to 'feed Jokumar.' Many other offerings are also made to him.

On the 14th day of Bhadrapad the idol is taken to a stream where washermen usually wash the clothes. There untouchables prostitutes pull out the penis of Jokumar with all sorts of vulgar abuses, dash his head on the stone and then drown him. It is supposed that he becomes a ghost. So washermen do not wash clothes at this place for three days.

22. Navaratri or Festival of nine nights :—The Navaratri festival begins from the first day of Ashwin and lasts for 10 days. On the first day, floor of the house is smeared with cow-dung, clothes are cleaned and a canopy of leaves is arranged in the main door. Walls are smeared with earth and then white-washed. A cocoanut is placed on a 'kalasha' or metal pot and the pot is worshipped. A 'nanda deep' or lamp is kept burning before it for one, three or nine full days according to the means or traditions of the family.

The pot is worshipped every day. On the seventh day Sharada or Goddess of learning is worshipped. Children worship their books. A function of Sharada Puja is arranged in schools.

On the ninth day, all agricultural implements and other weapons lying in the house are placed together and worshipped with a waving of sandal stick. A cocoanut is

offered to them. In the evening a horse belonging to a 'Vatandar' of the village is taken outside the village in all pomp; when it is coming back through the gate of the village, a cocoanut is broken; few years back, sacrifice of goats at the gate was very common.

23. Dasara :—10th day is known as Dasara. It marks the end of Navaratri festival. It is also called Vijaya Dashami or victorious tenth day. People enjoy a feast in the afternoon and in the evening a local God is taken in palanquin to a 'shami' tree outside the village. There the God is worshipped and 'Shami' leaves are offered to him. Then other persons interchange Shami leaves and bow down to each other. It is the duty of juniors to give 'Shami' leaves or gold as it is called to their elders to convey their respect. Many keep the leaves in their pockets as it is supposed that these leaves bring good luck.

24. Shigi-Hunnive :—The full moon day of Ashwin is known as Shigi Hunnive. On this day agriculturists go to their fields, preferably to one in which jowar is grown, in their best dress with fried dainties like 'Kadabus,' Kodabali's etc. Those who have no field of their own go to that of others or accompany those who have one, as guests. In the field they collect five stones and call them five Pandavas. An 'Arti' of lighted camphor is waved before Pandavas in worship and eatables brought from home are placed before them as offerings or 'Nevedya.' A portion of 'Nevedya' is strewn over the four corners of the field as 'bali' or oblations to the field deities. All dine there and take rest for sometime. While coming back they bring at least five ears of the new crop, cook them in the evening and partake of as 'navanna' or new food.

25. Dipawali Festival :—In the evening of 13th day of the dark half of Ashwin, water is brought from a river or well and the water-heating pot is filled up. Early in the next morning, members of the family get oil applied to their body and are bathed by some female members. Two balls of cowdung are kept in the outer thresh-hold and are called Pandavas; sometimes one more ball is kept and called Talvar or

watchman. Pandavas are worshipped every day. Two balls are every day added to these till the 4th day of the next month.

After the bath, an 'Arti' is waved before the members by a female member. Then there is a heavy break-fast and a feast in the afternoon.

26. Lakshmi Puja or worship of Wealth :—On the no-moon day there is again a feast. In the evening, ornaments, cash, and treasury in the house are worshipped and chirmuri or fried rice is distributed among friends and relatives.

27. Bali Pratipada:—The first day of Kartik is called Bali Pratipada. This is the first day of Vikrama era. This day is observed only by Brahmins in the same way as the 14th day of the previous month. On this day wife waves an 'Arti' to her husband. This day is considered as very auspicious one. People visit temples in the after-noon.

On the second day of this month, sisters bathe their brothers, wave an 'Arti' and receive presents from them.

On the third day brothers entertain their elder sisters for a feast.

28. Pandava Panchami:—The fifth day of Kartik is known as Pandava Panchami. This day is observed by all castes. The cowdung balls that were kept on the 14th day of the dark half of the last month and to which two new balls were added every day amount to eleven balls—if Talvar is included,—on the fourth day of this month. On the fifth day, early in the morning, as many new balls are added to them as the members of the family desire. All the balls are worshipped and offerings of flowers, incense, and food are made. In the noon, things, prepared that day are taken to the bank of a river and all dine there. In the evening, the Pandavas are 'sunk', that is, they are kept on the roof of the house, till the end of this month after which the balls are burnt and the ashes are used for applying to the fore-head. One or two balls are put in the cow-dung store as these are supposed to increase the prosperity of the family.

29. Tulsi Lagna or marriage of basil plant:—On 12th lunar day of Kartik marriage ceremony of basil plant is per-

formed. Green jowar stalks or sugar canes are posted at four corners of a basil plant and in the evening family priest worships the plant and celebrates her marriage with an Idol of Krishna brought by him. Fruits and fried rice are distributed among the people. This holiday is observed by Brahmins and Marathas only.

30. Sankranti Festival :—Fourth lunar day of Pushya is called Bhogi. On this day women apply gingelly oil to their body and take a bath. Fifth day of this month is known as Sankranti. On this day women again take bath and there is a feast of 'holige' cakes.

Sixth day is called Kinkranti. On this day, non-widows wear flowers and fill the laps of other non-widows with rice, sesamum, carrots, ground-nuts, and wheat. Presents are also exchanged.

These three days are observed only by Brahmin ladies.

31. Ratha-Saptami :—On the seventh lunar day of Magha, an image of a 'rath' or chariot is drawn on a wooden plate and worshipped. There is a feast in the noon. This day is observed only by Brahmins.

32. Gudi Hunnive :—Full moon day of Magh is known as Gudi hunnive and is observed as a day of feast by all castes. Goddess Yellamma is worshipped and the devotees¹ of Yellamma are feasted.

33. Receiving of God :—God is supposed to be in the fields before the harvest. On 14th day of the dark half of Magh it is believed that God enters the house. So, on this day, in the evening a stone or an Idol of God is worshipped and a cocoanut is broken. Ground-nuts are distributed among the people. Then the God is taken inside to the accompaniment of a cry, 'God is come'.

34. Mahashivaratri :—No-moon day of Magh is called Mahashivaratri. On this day, all the devotees of Shiva observe a fast and worship God Shiva at home or in a temple. Night is spent in singing devotional songs of Shiva. Next morning God is again worshipped and all partake of a feast. Maha-

¹ A woman who goes to the temple of Yellamma at Savadatti and wears a pearl in name of Yellamma is considered Her devotee.

shivaratri is observed by Brahmins, Lingayats, Panchals and Marathas.

35. Holi festival :—During a week beginning before the full-moon day of Falgun, people revel in songs which stir the baser passions of man. An Idol of Kama or God of Love is placed at some cross-way, some days before the full-moon day, and on the full-moon day, people burn it with all sorts of voluptuous shouts. On the fifth day of dark half of Falgun: colour is sprinkled on others.

A Critical Review of Hindu Holidays :—Hindu holidays are numerous. But those observed by all the Hindu castes are not many. Only the Brahmins observe many holidays. There are some holidays which are exclusively observed by Brahmins. The manner in which these are observed by Brahmins are strikingly similar even in many of the details to that in which the same are observed by Brahmins of Maharashtra. Holidays which are considered important by Brahmin and non-Brahmin castes are all festivals, with the exception of Mahashivaratri which is observed as a day of fast. Festivals of Karnatak are not much different from those of other parts of India. In many cases there is only a change of name, and slight alterations in the practices to suit local conditions. In some cases, there is a change of date, for example Kara-Hunnive or worship of bulls is observed in Jyestha in Karnatak, in Kartik¹ and in Bhadrapad in Maharashtra.² Festivals which are peculiar to Karnatak seem to be, Basaveswara Jayanti, ' Mannettina Amavasye.' Gullavva, Jokumar, and Pandav Panchami.

A Hindu holiday or festival has many aspects. Religiously considered, it is a day of worship and meditation. A study of holidays show that objects worshipped are many and varied. Among them there are mythological Gods like Rama and Krishna. Legendary characters like Gullavva and Jokumar also feature prominently. Other objects worshipped on holidays include all things which are useful, viz., animals, implements, ornaments, fields, corn etc. Even useless things like serpent and rat are worshipped. Many of the things worshipped are Idols. These Idols are made of earth, stone, wood, cow-dung, or paper. It

1 North Kanara District. 2 Poona District.

is remarkable that for about five months beginning from the no-moon day of Jyestha, most of the Idols worshipped are made of earth; for example, earth-bullocks, Gullavva, Jokumar serpent,¹ and Ganesha. Only in Kartik, Pandawas made of cow dung are worshipped.

Actual worship as it is performed by non-Brahmin castes is simple. Waving of a sandal stick and applying 'kunkum' constitutes worship on many occasions. Those who want to be more elaborate, place on the object, some flowers, leaves of 'Bilva' and fragments of green grass, burn camphor, break cocoanut, wave a sandal stick and then wave an 'Arti.' This elaborate kind of worship is performed by few and only on the following holidays, Nagapanchami, Ganesh Chaturthi, Mahanavami, Pandavapanchami and Mahashivaratri. On minor holidays, a cocoanut and camphor is offered to the local God in worship. At the time of worship, food-offerings are made. Only the dish prescribed for the particular holiday is to be offered. The manner of making food-offerings to God is also simple. The dish of the day is taken in a small tray and placed before the God and a flower placed on the God is thrown on it and then it is distributed among the members present. When there is no idol to be worshipped at home, a portion of the food is taken to the temple and is given to the priest- (ii) A holiday is a period of rest. To the rural people, holidays are the only 'no-work' days of the year. (iii) A holiday is a day of feasting. It was pointed out, that a holiday for a non-Brahmin is also a day of feasting. To the majority of the rural people who eat only bread, day in and day out, holidays provide a change in food. Again, feasts prescribed are different for different holidays, and so they offer a good variety. A non-brahmin gets feasts on at least 15 occasions in a year. In the case of Brahmins, number of feast-days are more than 60.¹

¹ Majority of Brahmin families prepare some kind of dish on the following days.

Days 12 All full moon days.

" 12 All no-moon days.

" 24 All 12th days in the bright half and the dark half of every Month.

" 1 Sankranti Day.

" 1 Yugadi.

(iv) A holiday is a gala-day. Holiday is the occasion when rural people make themselves merry in various ways. There is singing during Holi festival, hunting on the next day of Yugadi, Kar-Hunnive and Holi, playing games and riding on the swing during Nagapanchami festival and gossiping on all holidays. Women also enjoy holidays in chatting, going to the temple, and entertaining guests. During Gullavva festival girls play, dance and sing and during Nagapanchami they also ride on the swing.

Socially considered it seems that holidays stand for progress. On closer study it can be seen that many of the holidays prescribe healthy practices which contemplate repair, replacement, recreation or regeneration of the present order and things which are its parts:—(i) *Holidays encourage the individual to develop his physique by providing for athletic competitions.* To distinguish themselves in these competitions many youngsters pay more attention to their body. (ii) *Holidays provide also for intellectual development.* During Nagapanchami festival puzzles are put and intelligence period distinguished itself during this period. (iii) *They provide for cleanliness of the body.* Those of the agriculturists who do not take a bath on other days, wash their bodies at least on holidays. (iv) *Holidays provide for repair of the house.* Houses in the rural areas are built with mud and so need an annual mudwash to prevent the walls from cracking. This mudwash is prescribed by Navaratra festival. House is painted with vermilion during Ganesh Chaturthi and it is smeared with cowdung on most of the festival days. Decoration of the house in many ways is also made during many festivals.

(Foot-note on page No. 180 continued.)

No. of days	B. F. 50.	B. F. 62
	4 Navaratri	1 Ramanavami
	4 Dipavali	1 Akshaya Tritiya
	1 Tulsi Vivaha	2 Nagapanchami
	1 Ratha Saptami	1 Gokulastami
	1 Champashasti	8 Mondays and Fridays
	1 Feast in the name of dead	of Shravan
		5 Ganesh Chaturthi
Total	62	80

(v) *Care of implements* :—Implements are worshipped during Navaratra and owners have to repair or replace old implements before worship. (vi) *Care of crops* :—On the day of Shigi Hunnive the owner has to go to his field. For the absentee land-lord who lives in the town, this festival makes a visit to the field incumbent upon him. (vii) *Care of animals* :—Domesticated animals are worshipped during Kara-Hunnive. Bullocks are paraded on this day. This festival infuses an ambition among the cultivators to own the bullocks which would excel those of others. (viii) Worship of wealth during Dipavali festival provides an incentive to the people to increase their wealth in ornaments and cash.

Holiday as a socializing force :—As a socializing force the value of festivals cannot be overstated. Festivals are the occasions when people mix together and come in close contact. Friends meet friends, newly wedded girl returns to her mother's, and relatives come together as guest and host. Dasara festival hails an era of fraternity—Shami leaves establish a bond of universal brother-hood among their exchangers. On this occasion, seniors receive respect from juniors, mother from her son, teacher from his pupils, and employer from the employed. Sankranti is another such occasion particularly for women. Sesamum and sugar presented to friends and relatives on this day is supposed to hold all in a bond of sweet and cordial friendship. It is the occasion when new acquaintances are contracted and old ones renewed. Festivals provide innumerable opportunities to the female members of rural community to come together, for filling the laps of each other for worshipping a Goddess like Gouri, or for going to a temple. In short, if the festivals were not there, the life of the rural people would have been more sullen and individualistic than it is at present.

CHAPTER IX

System of Marriage

(A) Endogamy

Introduction :—The nature of the endogamous system current in Karnatak before the Aryans emigrated to the South is a mere object of conjecture. When the Aryan Brahmins from the North settled in Karnatak, from their point of view, the population was considered to consist of two divisions, the Aryans and the non-Aryans or Dravidians. But it is wrong to infer that aborigines of Karnatak had no endogamous divisions on the ground that Aryans considered them as belonging to the same 'varna' (i. e. colour). With the scanty evidence that we possess, it is not possible to enumerate the inter-marrying groups that lived in the past, nor can we trace chronologically the evolution of the endogamous divisions in Karnatak. But a critical study of the existing endogamous division in different communities can help us to out-line the forces that were responsible for the present endo-gamous divisions of Karnatak.

In days of old, the primitives of Karnatak were probably given to hunting, rearing of animals and fishing. The Berads were probably the hunters; the Kabbaligers the fishermen and the Kurubas the shepherds. As Karnatak is a country of plains with only a small area of low levelled scrub-forests and with few rivers, sheep tending must have been more popular a calling than either fishing or hunting. At this stage the endogamous division might have been a community following the same occupation, occupying the same area, and inter-marrying and inter-dining.

1 Emigration :—But as population increased and the struggle for existence grew keener, the members of the inter-marrying community might have found it difficult to maintain themselves by staying in the same locality and by following the same occupation as that of their parents or fellow-men. The remedy lay in (i) emigration, or (ii) taking to new voca-

tions. Distance barred frequent social intercourse between the emigrants and their stay-at-home fellows. The former soon began to speak a mixed language, with the result that marriage connections between the two groups grew less and ultimately ceased completely, the emigrants forming a separate group. But their manners and customs remained materially the same and they continued to dine with the other group.

2 Habitat:—The emigrants who left their own land settled at different places some in towns and some in jungles. In course of time those dwelling in jungles formed their own inter-marrying group. Thus we have (a) in Gollas, the endogamous divisions based on habitat (i) ura-golla or town gollas, (ii) Adavi gollas or forest gollas, (b) and in Korvars—Adavi korvars are different from other korvars. Similar divisions based on geographical barriers are found among Guravs. The Kunbis are also divided into Desh or up-country and konkani or coastline Kunbis.¹

3 Occupation:—As a dis-integrating force occupation is more important than emigration. Those who took to new occupations were looked down by the orthodox people. If the calling was one which was considered as 'superior' according to contemporary social ideals, the former assumed a cloak of superiority. Again, the people employed in the same line have similar interests. For these reasons they prefer to get their girls married to persons in the same line. How occupation acts as a disintegrating force can be well-illustrated with reference to Kabbalegers who were Bestas or fishermen. Some of them became boatmen or Ambigs and formed their own group; some became Boyi or palanquin-carriers; some others, iron-smiths or Bail Kammars. Similarly Korvars, after their immigration took to different professions. Some turned out to be musicians or Sanadi Korvars, some manufacturers of weavers' brushes or Konchi-Korvars, some sorcerers or modi-korvars; and some others who lived on stealing, the Ghantichors. Among the Killikets, a caste of recent origin, there are two endogamous divisions; Mina-Hīdiyōru or those that catch fish and Gombi-ādisōru or those who enact a play with toys. In

1 Risley : People of India, Page 87.

all such cases of division hypergamy is a stage which precedes complete cessation of marital relations. Thus among Kabbalagers, the Kabbars marry girls from Ambigs but do not give their daughters to them.

This form of division on functional basis is carried still further among Vaddars who though engaged in the same line are split up into three endogamous divisions according to the sub-division of labour. They are those who blow up stones from the earth or 'kalla-vaddar'; those who dig up only earth from the ground or Mati or Manna-Vaddar; those that simply load the carts and carry stones or Bandi Vaddars. As hinted already a sense of superiority on the part of certain families in an inter marrying group leads gradually to the disruption of the group into endogamous divisions. But this sense of superiority may arise from such a trivial thing as the nature of food consumed or the adoption of a new ceremony or a custom or by the virtue of occupying an honourable post in public life. The examples are:—Berads, some of whom eschewed flesh for some reasons, styled themselves as Bile Berads or white Berads as distinct from the flesh-eating group whom they called Kare or black Berads. Under the Brahmanic influence some of the Ghanigs who disallowed remarriage current in their community formed themselves into a separate group and called themselves Sajjans or gentlemen and the other of their erst-while kith and kin were addressed as 'Karekula' or black-race. Among the Kurubas, the difference between two endogamous groups is that the Hatti Kankan Kurubas tie a bracelet of cotton to the couple in marriage and Unni-Kankan Kurubas tie that of wool. Among the Kshatriyas the member of the Arasu clan or royal family will marry only an Arasu or one belonging to Arasu clan.

4 Religion :—Another vital factor that accentuates the endogamous sub-division is religion. As late as the beginning of eleventh century, Karnatak was predominantly under the sway of Brahmanic influence. But Basava founded Lingayat religion to over-throw the Brahmanic hold. Though the pioneers of Lingayat religion professed that their faith stood for extinction of caste, they succeeded only in multiplying the existing sub-castes. When families belonging to different

castes embraced this new faith their fellow-brethren of the old faith ceased all connections with them. Lingayatism divided about forty castes like, Ghanig, Agas, Navi, Hugar, Kurba into two divisions, the converted and unconverted. In this way about forty new sub-divisions were added to the existing list. Conversion, again, did not take place at the same time. The earlier converts formed a group of their own. Even when the converts came from the same endogamous group, they subdivided themselves into endogamous divisions like first converts and second converts according to the time of their conversion. It is interesting to note that in old days conversion was on group basis. When the leader of the group embraced Lingayatism all other members of the group simply followed him. In most cases of conversion there was simply a change in the name of the convert and the substitution of a jangam for a Brahmin, the convert retaining most of his original cultural institutions. The example of Guravs can be cited to illustrate this process of sub-division. Some of the Guravs who came in the fold of Jainism were called Jain Guravs; some settling in the Konkan formed their own sub-division—Konkani Guravs; some others who began to sell flowers became Hugar; some became Lingayats or Lingayat Guravs. Again among Lingayat Guravs there are three endogamous sub-divisions—(i) those that wear Linga; (ii) those that wear Brahmanical cord; (iii) those that wear both. There are innumerable castes which empoly both the jangam and the priest and follow a ceremonial which is a mixture of both Lingayat and Brahmin usages. The Hatkars, and Lingayat Kurubas are the outstanding examples of this type.

Role of hypergamy :—Hypergamy is the outcome of a sense of superiority of one class over the other. It is in fact a preparing ground for a new endogamous division. In all cases of hypergamous marriage we see that the girl is admitted into her husband's group after some initiation ceremony and then she is not allowed to return to her father's. In course of time hypergamous groups become endogamous divisions.

Even among converts like the Panchamasali Lingayats who were drawn from more or less a homogeneous stock, social distinctions asserted themselves. "Now there are seven

sub-divisions of Panchamsali and these stand to each other in relation of hypergamous groups—which suggests the probable existence of free inter-marriage.¹ Though Thurston mentions of seven hypergamous groups, the author has been able to trace only three, viz., Banjigs or traders are hypergamous to Panchamsalis who now form a cultivating class; Ayyas or priests are hypergamous to Banjigs. May this be due to the fact that other four groups have ceased to be hypergamous? Hypergamy is found in other castes also. Among Kurubas, the Vadar or the priest is hypergamous to other kurubas." Kabbers (a sub-division of Kabbaligers) marry girls from Ambigs but do not give their daughters to them."² "Hande-Kurubas marry girls from other Hatti Kankan Kurubas after initiation."³ "A Maratha is hypergamous to the Kunbi."⁴

Though conversion usually severs all social relations with the old brethren, the converted may still continue to marry girls belonging to their old endogamous division. Such an example is furnished by the Raddis, "among whom Lingayat divisions take brides from Nama-das Raddis who may not marry Lingayat girls."⁵

5. Dispute :—A mere dispute between the religious heads or swamis is enough to create a new division. This is more common among the lower castes. To give a recent instance a quarrel as to the 'Patil' ship of Dasas between two claimants has embittered the feelings between followers of the disputants with the result that each group has erected a separate temple and in some places severed all matrimonial relations with each other.

6. Ex-communication :—Whatever may be the endogamous restrictions of a caste, they are to be abided by its members. No mercy is shown on those who do not abide by them. Ex-communication from the caste is the only punishment metted out to these rebels. Those who marry outside the

1. Thurston Vide Lingayat.

2. Enthoven P. 112.

3. Enthoven P. 319.

4. Census Report of Bombay 1901 Vol. I Page 183.

5. Enthoven page 259.

caste or those women who commit adultery and bear children are expelled from the caste and the persons of a caste so expelled form an endogamous group of their own. Sometimes, persons expelled from different castes form a common group for purposes of marriage. There are some such groups in Karnatak formed of persons of 'no-caste.'

Conclusion :—It seems that the increase in population necessitating migration and taking up of new occupations which came into existence as the society gradually progressed towards the agricultural stage, must have been a primary factor in multiplying the endogamous divisions on territorial and functional basis, to which many more came to be added as and when only some families from an intermarrying group embraced a new faith or chose or followed a new religious head. Finally, a sense of superiority felt by some families in an endogamous unit on account of difference in food, general mode of living, political or religious influence, customs, or ceremonials hurried on the process of sub-division through a hypergamous system, into such narrow endogamous divisions as we have at present.

(B) Exogamy

Exogamy exists in Karnatak in the forms of (1) Gotra exogamy; (2) Sapinda exogamy; (3) Surname exogamy; (4) God-exogamy (5) Swami or religious head exogamy (6) and Bedagu exogamy.

1. Gotra-exogamy :—Gotra exogamy prohibits marriage between members of the same Gotra who are believed to have descended from a common ancestor who is an eponymous sage. This form of exogamy prevails among the Brahmins. Some other castes like the Panchals who claim an equality with the Brahmins have also got gotra-exogamy; this may be due to the probable fact that the 'Panchal' caste had the origin in a Brahmin group becoming artisans.¹ Again the castes like the Gurav that have come under the direct influence of Brahmins follow gotra-exogamy to the extent that some of their bedagu names are the same as gotra-names, that is, the names of some sages, e. g. some Guravs have Kashyapa gotra.

1 Enthoven Page 159 Vol. III Castes and Tribes of Bombay.

Some castes like the Panchamsalis among Lingayats who wanted to imitate Brahmanic usages to raise themselves in social status seems to have adopted a system which is similar to the Brahmanical system of gotras. Enthoven holds the same view. "It appears that in higher ranks of Lingayats the stocks are named after five Lingayat sages—Nandi, Bringi, Vira, Vrisha, Skandi; in this respect they closely resemble and are probably imitations of the ordinary brahmanic gotras or exogamous groups which are also named after mythical ancestors.¹

Incidental to the gotra exogamy is the pravara-exogamy. Many gotras are grouped under a pravara and marriage between persons belonging to the same pravara is forbidden in the Brahmins and the Panchals, though the two may belong to different gotras.

2. Sapinda-exogamy :—Sapinda exogamy which prohibits marriage within certain generations counted from the father as well as the mother² is practically non-existent in the Karnatak castes with the exception of a small caste called Chikka-Kuruvinavar³ among whom a marriage can take place only when the family stocks of bride's father and bride's mother's father are different from those of bride-groom's father and his mother.

3. God-exogamy :—Exogamous divisions are also based on the particular God worshipped by a section. The Mallavva caste (a sub-sect of the Lingayats) can be cited as an instance. 'It has certain exogamous divisions named after the God worshipped by the section.'⁴

4. Surname exogamy :—In certain castes the exogamous divisions are identical with surnames. Among the Hindu Guravs and Gollas of Bijapur, marriages are prohibited between members having the same surnames; the same is the case in the 'Ganiga' caste.

1. Enthoven Page 356 Vol. III Castes and Tribes of Bombay.

2 Karandikar, 'Hindu exogamy', page 3,

3. A caste found in Bijapur District.

4 Enthoven Castes and Tribes of Bombay. Page 375, Vol. II.

5 Swami or religious head exogamy :—Among the Killikets there are thirteen stocks named after the religious heads or swamis and those owing allegiance to the same swami cannot inter-marry.

6 Bedagu exogamy :—Among all the forms of exogamous restrictions, Bedagu exogamy has the greatest extent in Karnatak and prevails in most of the non-brahmin castes including all the Lingayat ones. Again this form is peculiar to Karnatak.

The word bedagu means something denoting beauty and honour and 'what is the bedagu of their family' means in ordinary speech, "What are the good points that their family can boast of or what is their family known for?" This meaning of bedagu is well brought out by the way in which bedagu names are actually used in practice. For example those belonging to 'kuri' bedagu or sheep stock are known as kuriyavaru or those reputed for their sheep; in fact 'kuriyavaru' means in practice 'persons belonging to kuri-bedagu'. Similarly members of 'Honna bagina bedagu' or gold-present stock are called 'Honna-baginadavaru' or those reputed for making presents of gold. This difference is significant and should be noted while studying the bedagu names. Terms like 'kula', 'bali' and 'bagi' are used as synonyms for bedagu. Thurston and Enthoven use the term stock as English synonym for all these four terms. But the meaning of these terms and the manner in which they are actually used in practice show that all these terms are not synonyms of bedagu.

Kula means a clan¹ and is used by the Berads to designate the endogamous divisions like the kari-kula or black clan or Bile Kula or white clan. Kula implies a lineal descent from some ancestors and so kula name must be the name of some individual, if it is to be used as a stock name. In a sense kula is a synonym for gotra. The Agasas have an exogamous division called Samudra kula or sea-stock and this is also called samudra gotra. A habitat cannot give its name to a kula though it can, to a bedagu.

1. It also means a race, family, caste¹ Kittel's Dictionary.

'Bali' means an offering or sacrifice. Bali is a term used for stock, in Kanara District only. Members of a bali make 'bali' or offerings to an object that bears the bali-name. Those who are the devotees of a particular object, consider themselves as brothers and sisters; it appears that bali exogamy is the same as god exogamy with the difference that the object worshipped by the members may not necessarily be a Hindu God but may resemble a totem.

'Bagi'¹ means a 'division', 'portion' or 'part'. It is usually used by Navis as a synonym for their stock.

Characteristics of a Bedagu :—(a) Bedagu is a group of persons who consider themselves as brothers and sisters and do not inter-marry. But this restriction on marriage does not seem to be rigorous or complete with reference to members related in the fourth or subsequent generation. For, marriages have taken place between members of the same bedagu related in the fourth generation and there is not a single instance of a marriage that had been once settled, broken off simply on the ground that the parties came to know afterwards, that they were the members of the same bedagu. But such instances of marriage of persons belonging to the same bedagu are very rare.

(b) Bedagu name is sometimes permanently changed. Few people in the rural areas know their Bedagu name; there is no necessity for remembering it also, as matrimonial connections are contracted with the old relation only. So members of a particular family know that a particular girl belongs to a different bedagu from the fact that in the past some of her paternal relatives had been married to some members in their family. So instead of thinking in terms of bedagus, they think in terms of particular families as being exogamous to them. In course of time the family name comes to usurp the name of bedagu. This change of bedagu name can take place in two ways. All the members of the old bedagu may be included in the new bedagu or only few families may adopt a new bedagu name, others retaining the old one. In the case of the first, there is

only a change of name, the total number of bedagus in the endogamous group remaining the same; but in the later case there is an actual addition to the existing list of bedagus. In so far as such a new bedagu is to be given wholly a different name from any of the existing ones, this process creates a new group open to inter-marriage for those bedagus which could not have married into it if it had retained its old bedagu name. It appears that both these processes of the old names being replaced by new ones and that of the existing number of bedagus being increased by the formation of new bedagus have been in operation in Karnatak. The exogamous system among the Berads and Kabbalagers serve as the best illustrations.

Angalava, Gujjalava, Matkuppi are some of the exogamous divisions among the Berad-caste of Mysore only. This phenomenon can be explained in three ways :—(1) All the members belonging to these bedagus might have emigrated en-bloc, (2) they might have changed their bedagu name, or (3) they might have formed new exogamous groups. The second and the third appear to be more probable.

Among the Kabbalgers, the 'Ane-bali' or elephant stock and Ganga-bali or 'Gangavali-river stock' are found only among the Kanara Kabbalagers. It is improbable that elephant which cannot be found in the plains of Karnatak could have given its name to the bedagu of Karnatak Kabbalgers; on the other hand it is more reasonable to suppose that Ane-bali or elephant stock must have been formed when some of the Kabbalgers came into Kanara which is infested with elephants. Again, Ganga bali or Gangavali river stock shows that this stock must have originated in Kanara only, as the Gangavali river is only in the Kanara district. Substitution of the term 'bali' for bedagu also shows the same thing.

(c) Lastly, no member of the bedagu exhibits a taboo behaviour towards an object which has the bedagu name. This shows that the bedagu is not a totem.

Number of bedagus in different endogamous groups:—The author has not been able to collect the number of bedagus in different endogamous groups for the simple reason that there are few people in the villages who can give the names of all

bedagus in their group. But ethnographers like Enthoven, Thurston, and L. K. Krishna Ayyar have given in their works the names of all bedagus of some castes, only the total number of bedagus of some others and the names of the important bedagus of the rest. But their data do not help us to understand the exogamous system in Karnatak; to some extent the data are even mis-leading. For example, we are told that Karnatak Kabbalgers have 101 exogamous divisions. Does this mean that each of the five endogamous divisions of Kabbalgers have 101 divisions? Again, does it imply that a person belonging to one bedagu can marry a girl belonging to any one of the rest 100 bedagus? As far as the author knows, it is not. The Kanara Kabbalgers form an endogamous group with only two stocks. In fact, the number 101 probably represents a sum total of bedagu names found in all divisions called Kabbalgers. The number is not also evenly distributed in all divisions. Again the same bedagu may be common in all the subjects, or in a few of them, or may not be common at all. So an arrangement of bedagu names according to endogamous division only, can have some significance. For, bedagu is an exogamous division of an endogamous group and not of a caste, the name of which, may cover communities belonging to diverse faiths even.

Names of bedagus :—The names of bedagus are various. Some are the names of different occupations; some of different animals; some of different trees; some of inanimate objects like the stick, measure, hut etc., some of flowers; some of eatables like milk and butter; some of localities; some of crops; some of ornaments; some of instruments; some of gods; and some of family and individual characteristics. Lastly there are many names whose meaning cannot be made out.

Bedagu names and their derivations :—In the rural areas most of the artisan and similar castes have occupational surnames. Thus people belonging to the castes like the Agasa or washerman, the Ganiga or oil-man, the Malgar or gardener etc., have a surname which is the same as that of their occupation. Some other castes like the Uppar, the Holeya and the Berad (which is termed as Naik now in some places)

derive their surname from their caste-name. In the service class, the surnames are identical with the designation of the office held. So surname, which is the same for all the families in a caste, a functional group, or a service class, does not help to discriminate one family from another of the same group. Therefore families are distinguished according to the names of the heads of the families or some nick-names which represent outstanding characteristics of the families. Thus in a village, when there are many 'naik' families, each is called by one of the following names :—

(1) Mulimaniyavaru or those living at the corner. (2) Bevin-maradavaru or those near whose place is a neem tree. (3) Ulagaddiyavaru—sellers of onions. (4) Belladavaru or sellers of sugar. (5) Doddamaniyavaru or those having a big house. (6) Hāl-maneyavaru—those in whose house there is milk. (7) Dandadavaru—those who had been fined. (8) Gokaviyavaru—those coming from Gokak.

There is a similar difficulty while discriminating one individual from another. Because names of individuals in a particular caste are more or less the same, as most of the individuals are named after a few gods adored by the caste. Among the Uppars of a village it was found that nearly half of the male population of the caste had Bhima as the proper name. So to distinguish one from the other, the following nick-names were in use. Kari Bhima or black Bhima; Bakai Bhima or epicure Bhima; Kunta Bhima or lame Bhima, Banda Bhima or shameless Bhima; Tonapa Bhima or stout Bhima etc.

In course of time these nick-names of individuals become nick-names of families also.

When a nick-name of the family persists, it becomes its surname, and surnames in turn may become Bedagu, names as shown in the earlier pages.

Bedagu names of some castes are given below to illustrate that a similar process was responsible for most of the Bedagu names.

1. Among the Kabbalgars the stocks are :—(i) Sunnagar or the manufacturers of lime; Teppa-gar or the raft-man;

Mashala or the torchman ; Anegundiya or those hailing from Anegundi ; Benniyava or seller of butter ; hālmaneyava or a person in whose house there is milk etc.

2. Kurubars :—Gondinava or weaver of plumes, Doshe-yava or eater of doshe cake, Tuppadavaru or ghee-eaters, mallige yava or grower of mallige flowers, Gouda or head-man, Turka or muslim.

3. Helava (a class of beggars). Andha-Kannava or a blind person, parasa battina or one having a maimed finger, Bhimashettiya or one patronized by Bhimshetti, Tenkanava or one coming from the south.

4. Hatkars :¹—Honnabaginadavaru or those who made presents of gold ; Sakkariyavaru or sellers of sugar.

5. Kudavakkalagers :²—Dandadavaru or those who had been fined ; Taddodiyavaru or fools.

But there are some stock names which do not indicate that they had ever been the nick-names of families. The following are some of this type.

Agasas have Hala-griha kula or house of milk stock. Kuruba :—Agni or fire, surya or sun ; chandra or moon ; havu or serpent ; gali or wind.

The origin of such bedagu names can be traced to (i) conversion (ii) or the influence of Brahmins.

(i) When a caste was converted to Lingayat faith, the bedagu names were replaced by new ones denoting gods, like rain, wind, sun etc., holy plants like shami, atti etc., or holy animals like rat, serpent etc.

(ii) The Brahmins who conduct the marriage ceremonies of non-brahmin castes introduced a similar change in the bedagu names. A statement made by a Brahmin in answer to a question of the author is illuminating on this point. He told that the families belonging to lower castes sometimes do not

1. A caste of weavers who are partly Lingayats.

2. A caste of cultivators who are partly Lingayats.

remember their bedagu names. So the Brahmin when he has to declare at the time of marriage that such a person belonging to such and such a stock is being married into such and such a stock, simply gives out some name, which comes to be adopted by that family as their stock-name for the future. He further made it clear that as the castes belong to Shudra or low caste division, only the names of holy plants or animals are suggested to them instead of the names of Gods.

(C) Forms of Marriage in Karnatak.

(With special reference to maternal-uncle niece marriage.)

Besides the endogamous and the exogamous restrictions already studied, there are certain other restrictions and prescriptions which regulate the form of marriage.

The marriage customs of Karnatak prescribe that preferably a brother should marry his sister's daughter; in other words, maternal-uncle-niece marriage is looked upon as the right form of marriage.

The marriage between the son of the sister and the daughter of the brother or the cross-cousin marriage¹ is also considered in a similar way.

Along with these prescriptions there are restrictions which prohibit,

(i) the marriage between the children of sisters, and usages which disfavour,

(ii) the marriage of brother's son with sister's daughter.

At present, the maternal-uncle-niece marriage is more prevalent than cross-cousin marriage. Again, it is at once a unique feature of the marriage system of Karnatak only, and is obtainable in almost all the castes of Karnatak including the Jains and the Brahmins. At present it is found in three different forms, namely,

1. This term 'cross-cousin marriage' is used in these pages to mean the marriage between sister's son and brother's daughter.

(i) In some cases it is matrilocal as the person out of poverty goes to stay with his sister, marries her daughter and stays there only.

(ii) But it is usually patrilocal.

(iii) Sometimes, it is both patrilocal and matrilocal as the person owning some property, is brought up by his sister on account of the premature death of his parents and he lives with her even after his marriage with the niece.

Between the maternal-uncle-niece marriage and cross-cousin marriage, the former seems to be the older form of marriage in Karnatak. The following arguments may be advanced in favour of this contention.

(i) The system of relationships under maternal-uncle-niece marriage is simpler than under cross-cousin marriage. Rural society in Karnatak uses even to this day a kinship terminology which would be expected in a society practising maternal-uncle-niece marriage. Terms denoting new relationships which exist under cross-cousin marriage are in vogue only in the educated castes like the Brahmins and these terms can be proved to be of later origin, from the fact that (a) some of them are of Sanskrit origin, (b) some others are used simply to describe relationships the terms of address for which are still the same as in the relationship-system under maternal-uncle-niece marriage.

(1) As the diagram given on page 203 makes clear, in a society practising maternal-uncle-niece marriage consistently, a man marries a woman who is not only his sister's daughter but also who is the daughter of his mother's brother. So a single term 'mava' or father-in-law is sufficient to denote mother's brother who is a man's father-in-law or a woman's husband who cannot be addressed by his wife. But under cross-cousin marriage, maternal-uncle is neither a woman's father-in-law nor her husband. So there is a necessity for a new term denoting maternal-uncle who is called now 'sodar-mava' or one born of the same womb as the mother. 'Sodara' is a word of Sanskrit origin. Secondly, the term is descriptive and is used only while making a distinct reference to maternal uncle.

(2) A man's sister's husband who is 'mava' or father-in-law under maternal uncle-niece marriage is still addressed as 'mava' in most of the castes.

(ii) In the maternal uncle-niece marriage, the maternal uncle of the girl is the bride-groom, so he cannot play an independent role as maternal uncle. But in cross-cousin marriage, the maternal uncle of the bride is not her husband. So he can be assigned some active role in marriage ceremonies. In most of the Brahmin castes who follow cross-cousin marriage, maternal uncle is given a leading part in the marriage ceremonies. The conspicuous absence of maternal uncle's part in the marriage ceremonies of most of the non-brahmin castes indicate that maternal uncle-niece marriage preceded cross cousin marriage.

Maternal uncle-niece marriage prevailed even before the Aryan migration to the south:— It is not possible to say when this form of marriage was introduced. But there are reasons to suppose that this form might have existed in Karnatak even before the Aryan migration to the South. The Brahmins of the North have not this form of marriage, so it is unlikely that Karanatak might have borrowed this form of marriage from the Northerners. Secondly, the Aryans followed 'sapinda' exogamy according to which such marriages are prohibited. Again, it does not seem probable that the Brahmins would have allowed this form to be introduced after their immigration.

The Kannada Kinsnip terminology also proves that this form was prevalent when it came to be formulated. 'Mava' is a common term for father-in-law, sister's husband, and maternal uncle- and only under this form of marriage can all of these three relationships be combined in one person.

Again, most of the castes have no specific terms for many relationships through the wife, such as father of the daughter-in-law; father of the son-in-law; husband of the wife's sister etc. If cross-cousin marriage be taken as of later origin for reasons given above, probably this absence of terms might be due to the prevalence of maternal-uncle-niece marriage in

which parties to the marriage have premarriage relationships denoted by some terms.

Why was this form of marriage introduced ? The reasons for the introduction of this form of marriage might have been two (i) the defects of the bedagu exogamy; (ii) merits of this form of marriage.

The defects of bedagu exogamy :—The system of marrying a girl outside the paternal stock introduced by bedagu exogamy was very defective. To marry the girl to some stranger was to entrust her destiny in the hands of persons who might not have the welfare of the girl in their hearts. Observation shows even now, that the daughter-in-law is many times ill-treated, ill-fed and overworked, by the mother-in-law or the sister of the husband. Not infrequently is a woman beaten for trifling offences by her husband or her mother-in-law. This sort of ill-treatment might have been more severe in the past. So the rural society wanted a form of marriage which guarantees a better treatment for the daughter-in-law at her husband's place and when the variations presented themselves they might have selected this form of marriage as the best one among the lot.

Merits of this form of marriage :—The survival of this form of marriage to the present day and its prevalence in most of the castes speaks for its usefulness. In this form of marriage as the mother-in-law is the girl's own grand-mother, she is not likely to ill-treat her own grand-daughter—at least, not to the same extent if she were not her grand-mother. Again, the husband's sister is either her own mother or her maternal aunt who has always a soft corner in her heart for her niece. The husband is her maternal-uncle ; so it is natural that he may not ill-treat his wife to a great extent. Mother of the girl may hope to secure for her daughter a kinder treatment by exercising her influence on the brother. This is a form of 'safe-marriage' under the system of bedagu exogamy which exposed the girl to grave mal-treatment as she was to be married to some stranger outside the stock. But it is to be remembered that this was only the best form among the worse ones that might have existed. Actual practice shows that

this form has not ensured complete freedom from ill-treatment. At any rate, a girl married to her maternal uncle is better off than the one married to a stranger. For this reason only, even now, though there is no such regulation that a girl is to be married only to her maternal uncle, the sister tries to secure her own brother as a husband for her daughter. Brother also rarely refuses the hand of his niece in marriage even when she is too junior or ugly, because he gets a wife for no payment or for a small amount.

As hinted already, though this is the best form it is by no means a perfect one. There are many practical difficulties which force some families to resort to some other form of marriage. It may so happen that a sister may have two daughters and three brothers; in such cases one brother has to go in search of a girl else-where. Equally difficult is the problem of the relative ages of one's daughter and the brother who are to be married. What is to be done when the difference between the ages of the two is prohibitive? Again what is to be done if the brothers are already married?

Such practical difficulties must have led the rural society to find out another form of marriage which should complement the maternal uncle-niece marriage. The new form of marriage so chosen appears to be the cross-cousin marriage. It seems that cross-cousin marriage prevailed among the Brahmin castes of the South before it came to be adopted by the non-brahmin castes who as just shown, followed maternal uncle-niece form of marriage. The reasons for this supposition are that,

(i) Cross-cousin marriage is popular with many of the Brahmin castes like the Saraswat-Brahmins who do not allow the maternal uncle-niece marriage. On the other hand there is not a single non-Brahmin caste which follows only cross-cousin marriage and looks with disfavour on maternal uncle-niece marriage.

(ii) There are certain ceremonies among Brahmins which show that cross-cousin marriage might have originated among

Brahmin castes only. Before marriage, a ceremony known as 'Kashiyatra' is performed when the man to be married starts out of the house to go on a pilgrimage to Benares renouncing all worldly affairs and is dissuaded from so doing by his maternal uncle who promises to give him his daughter in marriage. This ceremony obtains only among the Brahmin Castes.

There is also another ceremony during marriage—the sister of the bride-groom takes a promise from her brother that he would give his daughter in marriage to her son. This ceremony is found among the Brahmin as well as among the non-Brahmin castes. But it appears that this ceremony must have been copied by the non-Brahmins from the Brahmins. Again this ceremony is such as can be fitted into the marriage ceremonies under both of these forms of marriage. For, in maternal-uncle-niece marriage also, the woman marries to her son, the daughter of her brother to whom she gives her daughter.

This shows how similar the two forms of marriage are. In fact, maternal uncle-niece marriage is the same as that of cross-cousin marriage, if the parents of the bride and bride-groom were married according to this form only. From the diagram given on page 203, we can see that miss *e* whom Mr. D marries is to the latter, the daughter of his mother's brother Mr. A, as well as the daughter of his sister Mrs. c. Similarly Mr. D is to miss *e*, her father's sister's son as well as her maternal-uncle.

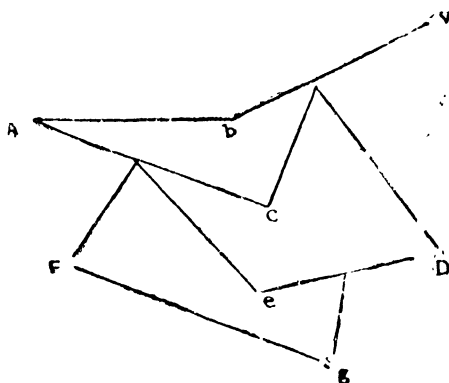
Because of this co-incidence, when the non-brahmin castes felt the necessity for another form of marriage to complement maternal-uncle-niece marriage which was not all comprehensive, their choice might have fallen on cross-cousin marriage that was prevalent among the Brahmin castes. Thus they must have adopted cross-cousin marriage as the second best of all the forms that existed. It must be said here that cross-cousin marriage has not in any way replaced maternal uncle-niece marriage. Even now in actual practice people resort to cross-cousin marriage only when maternal uncle-niece-marriage

age is not possible or desirable ; this shows the complementary nature of the cross-cousin marriage. Because of their mutually complementary nature, both are thriving side by side in Karnataka.

Why is the marriage between children of sisters tabooed ? :-
According to maternal-uncle-niece marriage sisters are to be married to their maternal uncles, that is, into the same bedagu. The children of these two sisters cannot marry for the obvious reasons that they belong to the same bedagu. So, it appears that the maternal aunt's daughter as she happened to be one's sister under maternal-uncle-niece marriage, the taboo which was applicable to the latter came to be extended to the former also. Therefore this taboo is a concomitant and a fossil of maternal-uncle-niece marriage. Its persistence, even though such a form of marriage ceased to be universal, may be partly attributed to Sapinda exogamy of the Aryans which might have made its influence felt to this extent, though it was not accepted in toto by the Deccanis as can be known from the writings of Devanna, the author of Smriti Chandrika a nibandha composition of 13th Century. In the castes that did not come under the influence of Sapinda exogamy, this taboo is loose or extinct. The Kurubars who are not under the influence of Brahmins as they have their own priests or Vaders, allow the marriage of sisters' children provided the two belong to separate bedagus. Among the Kabbalagers the marriage with a mother's sister's daughter is permitted. Some Raddis also do not consider such a marriage objectionable.

Why is not the marriage of a person with his father's sister's daughter favoured by society ? :-If there are two sisters and the one is married to her maternal uncle, the unmarried sister is to the son of her maternal uncle the daughter of his father's sister, the mother's sister and the prospective wife of his paternal uncle in a general system of maternal uncle-niece marriage. So it might be that the taboo that exists on one's marriage with a maternal or paternal aunt might have been placed on the daughter of the father's sister, as she happened to be one's maternal aunt and also a potential wife of one's paternal uncle who is maternal-uncle to her.

**A family tree under a general system of
maternal-uncle-niece marriage.**



Miss b is married to Mr. Y, who is her mother's brother.
Miss c is married to Mr. A, who is her mother's brother,
Miss e is married to Mr. D, who is her mother's brother.
Miss g is married to Mr. F, who is her mother's brother,

(D) The Divorce System

Divorce is not unusual among the Kannada castes of Karnatak.¹ It is popular among the castes like the Uppars, the Berads, and the Kurubars; some other castes like the Lingayats practice it only when a reconciliation between the husband and the wife or between the party of the former and that of the latter cannot be brought about. It is only the Brahmins and the Panchals who do not allow divorce.

The act of divorce or the divorce letter:—Divorce as the rural people consider it, is a simple act with a simple procedure. It consists in giving by the husband, preferably in the presence of some elderly persons, a divorce-letter to his wife. The letter reads:—

“ To

Wife of so and so and daughter of so and so,

I, the undersigned, am the rightful husband by marriage
But for such and such a reason I am hereby divorcing you
in return for Rs. Therefore I want to give you to
understand that you or any child born of you in future shall
have no claim to my name or my property.”

(Sd).....”.

1. For the number and percentage of divorced males and females, refer to chapter on rural population.

The husband signs this letter. The signatures of some elders are affixed to it as witnesses. The sum stipulated in the letter is cashed to the husband; children born of her by him are given in his charge. The wife also returns, the ornaments and other valuables she has, belonging to her husband. Then the husband hands over to his wife the divorce-letter and takes from her a receipt¹ written on the following lines :—

“ To

Mr. so & so,

I, the wife of so and so and the daughter of so and so, do hereby acknowledge that I have accepted the divorce given by you. Henceforth myself or children born of me in the future shall bring no claim on you or your property.

(Sd).....”

Significance of divorce :—Divorce constitutes the dissolution of marriage; it unties the marriage tie of the spouses. In other words, divorce is an act which nullifies the marriage contract; it discharges the wife from her duties towards her husband and relieves the latter from his responsibilities to the former. The divorce-letter contains two significant points—(i) that the husband has relinquished his rights to the wife; (ii) and that the wife has forfeited her right to claim the expenses of maintenance for herself or the name or the property of her husband to the children that may be born to her in future.

Considered from the point of view of the husband, divorce is a mere transaction through which he disposes of his wife for some payment or even free. To the wife, divorce-letter is a license which permits her to behave un-hindered by her husband.

The basis of the divorce system :—The system of divorce as it prevails in Karnatak is regulated by the conception of the rural people that wife is the property of the husband, who must subserve him in everything. The unmarried girl is the property of the father and marriage as is shown elsewhere is but a contract between the father of the girl and the guardian

1. Receipt is not always demanded.

of the boy according to which, the former transfers the ownership of the girl to the man who marries her. The relatives of the husband, because of their relationship to the husband, acquire a general right over the girl and they also stand sworn to safeguard the proprietary right of the husband over his wife. In short wife is the property of the husband :—

(i) He has bought her, so that she may cater to his palate, minister to his senses and assist him in the propagation of his race. A wife who fails to carry out any of these duties satisfactorily is unfit to remain a wife.

(ii) The husband is the owner of his wife. He has 'purchased' her; so he can 'sell' her. He can abuse, beat, or mishandle her in any way he likes and it is the duty of the wife to obey his dictates, humour his whims and tickle his fancies without striking a note of dissent or uttering a word of dissatisfaction.

(iii) Besides ownership, marriage invests the husband with the exclusive right to the sexual enjoyment of his wife, who has to tolerate when he indulges in sexual excesses and forbear, when he totally abstains himself from it. Above all, the wife must for ever remain faithful to her marital bed. On no account, she is to have any amorous relations with an outsider. A wife who defies these prohibitions and contracts extra-marital relations is supposed to have committed an unredeemable sin and comes to be dubbed an 'adulteress', a term used exclusively with reference to women, the 'adultery' of man being covered by the general term debauchery. In fact, the notion of adultery is a corollary of the conception of woman as property and is rooted in the sense of sexual ownership which the husband entertains over his wife. This shows that sex-ethics visualizes two standards of morality, one for the husband and one for the wife.

(iv) Since the husband commands the monopoly to the sexual enjoyment of his wife, an attempt at encroachment on this, amounts to trespass which calls for a severe punishment on the encroacher. If a person goes to the extent of 'spoiling' the wife, he has to pay such damages in the form of a fine as may be arbitrated by the 'Panchas' and if the husband thinks

that his wife has been 'spoiled' beyond 'repairs' the lover has to buy her — that is to obtain her divorce — at whatever price the 'Panchas' may quote.

Parties to a divorce:—Wife is the property of the husband. So the right to grant divorce is exclusively vested in him. He can tender it himself without being asked for it or may refuse even when he is implored for it. Similarly he may divorce her for no payment or may demand any exorbitant amount. In the ordinary course, few husbands are ready to surrender free their right to their wives. So divorce usually does not take place unless there is some one to pay for the divorce. This 'some-one' is, in most cases, the father of the girl or her lover if he has been caught red-handed. But a lover who has not been caught and has not received some thrashing cannot offer the amount directly, for in that case he shall be declared an 'encroacher' and therefore an object of punishment and revenge. Thus there are two parties to divorce, one is the giver who is invariably the husband and the other is the receiver who is the wife, financed by her father or a lover.

When are divorces effected:—A divorce can take place only when—

(i) The husband gives it free of his own accord. (ii) The father insists on and pays for it. (iii) The lover pays for it under coercion. (iv) The husband insists on and forces the father or the lover to pay for it.

(i) The circumstances when the husband grants divorce free:—

(i) A husband who sees with his own eyes the coition of his wife with some one else, may feel that it would not be possible for him to lead a happy life with a dissolute mate, and in this fit of despondency he may divorce his wife without charging her anything. (ii) or if he is impotent or too weak to satisfy the physical woman in his wife, he may divorce her before she proclaims his impotency to the world. (iii) Again, situations arise which force the husband to marry a second one and when the other wife comes to stay with the first one, the house gets transformed into a battlefield. To prevent matters from developing into worse, the husband has to give divorce to one. (iv) It may also so happen that the woman the husband

falls in love with, may demand an immediate divorce of the first wife as a condition to the acceptance of his love-proposal. If at this time there is nobody who is keen on obtaining the divorce of the first wife, the husband tenders it free.

(ii) The circumstances when the father insists on and pays for divorce :—The father may insist on divorce even before the girl is sent to her husband after her puberty if he thinks that her continuance of marriage-relations with her husband is not conducive to her happiness or to his family prestige ; (i) Thus a divorce is asked for when the husband is vicious or too poor to maintain a wife ; (ii) When there is a quarrel between the family of the girl and that of the boy ; (iii) The father is also tempted to obtain a divorce when he meets with a rich person who promises to pay for the girl more than is necessary for obtaining a divorce ; (iv) Sometimes, the husband does not come to take away his wife even though the parents are eager to send her. In such cases the parents wait for a few years and then insist on divorce so that they may remarry the girl to another.

But in many instances the occasion for divorce arises when the girl living with her husband feels it impossible for various reasons to live with her husband and runs back to her parents whom she appeals to obtain her divorce ; or she may send a word to her parents from her husband's house only, to emancipate her from the drudgery of the husband through divorce. In some cases, the husband himself sends a word to the father of his wife to obtain divorce of his daughter or that he would subject her to torture ; the father in all such cases has to pay for the divorce.

(iii) The circumstances when the lover pays for the divorce :—As pointed out above, the lover cannot insist or pay for divorce directly. But when he is caught red-handed or when it is proved that he is the lover, the husband may force him to pay for the divorce of his wife,

(iv) **The circumstances when the husband can force his father-in-law to pay for divorce :—**The father of the girl may refuse to send the girl to her husband. In such a case the husband has the right to ask him to pay for the divorce. Again when the girl gets pregnant at her father's, the husband may threaten to ex-communicate her if the father does not pay for the divorce of his daughter.

A period of suffering precedes divorce.—Divorces are not so easy to be effected as it is generally supposed. It is rarely that the desire of the husband to tender divorce and the readiness of the parents to pay the necessary amount synchronize. Usually every act of divorce is preceded by a period of waiting on the part of the husband or the wife. Between the two, it is the wife who has to suffer more of privation. She is really helpless if the husband refuses to grant divorce. Experience shows that husbands take a stiff attitude very often and refuse divorce for many reasons. (i) A husband refuses to divorce when he wants the wife that his father-in-law is refusing to send or when he loves his wife even though she is not loving him. (ii) Again, if the husband is not sure of getting a decent sum for the divorce he may disappoint proposals for a divorce. Greedy husbands always refuse to divorce till they are assured of the high amount they ask of. So a poor parent or a poor lover cannot hope to get the divorce of a woman who is the wife of a greedy husband. (iii) The relations of the husband and the father-in-law are sometimes inimical. So simply to have a sort of revenge against his 'enemy', the husband may ill-treat his wife and refuse to divorce. But in such cases the father-in-law avenges the ill-treatment of the daughter by subjecting to ill-treatment any female relative of his son-in-law's family, that is married into his family. Thus wherever there are reciprocal matrimonial alliances between families there is a mutual check against ill-treatment, the daughter-in-law in one family standing as a hostage against ill-treatment of a girl of her husband's family married into her paternal family. The husband usually refuses to divorce his wife who is a hostage till the father-in-law arranges the divorce of his female relative married into the former's family.

When the husband is reluctant to divorce for any one of the above reasons, the wife becomes a victim of suffering. She cannot re-marry nor can she love another openly. She must either restrain her passions which is well-nigh impossible for her or must prepare herself to face the consequences of adultery. Usually she chooses the latter. She would try to find a lover who is rich enough to obtain her divorce when the time comes. Even then, she cannot ask for a divorce, for if she asks, she will be severely dealt with for having cultivated illicit intimacies. She has only to wait till the husband offers it himself which he does when he actually comes to know of the love-connections of his wife. Here also, it is not certain that the divorce may be granted; the husband may only beat the wife and demand a fine from the lover.

The other way open for the wife desirous of getting a divorce is to run away to her father's and decline to come back. Then the father may approach her husband through some influential quarters and persuade him to give a divorce. In this case also, unless the influence is too strong for the husband to resist he may refuse to sign the divorce-letter. On the other hand he can claim back the wife and if his demand is not complied with, he may go to the village of his father-in-law with some paternal brethren-sometimes numbering a hundred and bring the wife by force. If the other party is also strong enough he may not always be successful. The father of the girl may hide her somewhere and thus frustrate the plan of the husband. This increases the tension between the father-in-law and the son-in-law and makes divorce more difficult to be effected.

As suggested before, the father may refuse to send the girl to her husband. He may even refuse to pay for divorce. In such a case, it entails suffering on the husband, particularly when he is too poor to get another wife. The husband would make an attempt to bring the wife by force and if he fails he has no other alternative but to wait till an opportunity comes when he can force the parents to pay for the divorce. Pregnancy of the wife is one of such opportunities. But the husband has to wait restlessly because he cannot know when this opportunity would present itself.

It is clear now that the period of waiting is marked by an increasing embitterment of the feelings between the husband and the wife or between the two families of which the two are members. A sort of an emotional conflict between the spouses is also conditioned during this period and it goes on gathering strength as the length of this period increases. The time of divorce constitutes the climax of these strained relations. In fact divorce is a social recognition of the implacable disharmony between the spouses or between the families represented by them.

Causes of divorce :—Causes of divorce are various as can be known from the following analysis of 148 divorce cases.¹

(A) Causes of divorces which take place even before the wife goes to stay with her husband are :—

	No. of cases
i. Father of the girl refuses to send his daughter as his son-in-law is poor.	9
ii. Father of the girl refuses to send his daughter as his son-in-law is a debauchee.	2
iii. Father of the girl refuses to send his daughter as his son-in-law had been jailed.	1
iv. Father of the girl refuses to send his daughter as his son-in-law had deceived him by telling that he belonged to the same caste though he did not.	1
v. Father of the girl refuses to send her as he is not on good relations with the family of her husband.	6
vi. Father refuses to send as he wants his daughter to remarry a rich person.	3
vii. Father refuses to send as his daughter is earning in the mill.	1
viii. Mother refuses to send as she wants her daughter to practice prostitution.	1

1. These cases were casually collected while on tour. Many of them do not concern the families under study. All these cases have taken place during the last ten years. These cases may be taken as representing a random collection.

	No. of cases
ix. Wife refuses to go as her husband has no land.	3
x. Wife refuses to go as her husband indulged in intercourse with her mother.	1
xi. Husband did not take his wife as she was immoral.	6
xii. Husband did not call his wife as he had married another.	5
xiii. Husband did not take his wife as he suspected immorality in her.	4
xiv. Husband did not call his wife as he was in love with another woman.	2
xv. Husband did not call his wife as she was ugly.	1
xvi. Husband did not call his wife as she was not on good relations with the family of her father.	1
Total No of cases	47

(B) Causes of divorce that take place after the couples have lived together for some time are :—

i. Wife is adulterous	62
ii. Wife is suffering from a disease	3
iii. Wife is senior	3
iv. Wife is ugly	2
v. Wife is maddish	2
vi. Wife has no child	1
vii. Husband marries another	7
viii. Husband brings a mistress in the house	4
ix. Husband ill-treats his wife	4
x. Husband is old	2
xi. Husband is ugly	2
xii. Husband has grown poor	2
xiii. Husband is impotent	2
xiv. Husband is too weak to give sexual satisfaction.	1
xv. Quarrel between the paternal family of the wife and that of the husband	3
xvi. Quarrel between the husband and wife	2

Total No. of cases 102

(a) Adultery of the wife and divorce :—The important cause of divorce is adultery of the wife ; in the study of 148 cases, this cause accounts for divorces in 72 cases. Divorces take place—but not always—when it is proved that the wife has committed adultery by showing that

	No. of cases
i. She has been caught red-handed while she was engaged in illicit intercourse	26
ii. She gets pregnant at her father's place	10
iii. She has run away with a stranger	5
iv. She is found hiding herself in her lover's house	3
v. Another person declares on oath that he has connections with the wife	2
vi. She admits her relations with another	2
vii. She gets pregnant and the husband declares that he is impotent	1
Total No. of cases	49

In the other 23 cases, divorce was given though the husband could not forward any irrefutable evidence. But in such cases, evidence which can at the best show that adultery might have been committed is advanced to substantiate the charge. The rural society considers that behaviour of the kind mentioned below amounts to adultery on the part of a married woman.

(i) When she receives a stranger in the absence of the husband in his house. (ii) When she has too much familiarity with a bad character. (iii) When she insists on going to her father's very often and stays there for a very long time. (iv) When she absents herself from home for some time during the day.

(a) Suspicion and divorce :—In some of such cases adultery is not really committed, still the husband insists on divorce because he suspects adultery in his wife. Many an innocent wife has to suffer much on account of the suspicious nature of their husbands who beat their wives for having spoken to a man for a slightly longer time than usual, abuse them for having joked with a male relative and divorce them for having

entertained a male-friend. The suspicions which husbands have about their wives work havoc when the wife is at her father's place. It is not possible for the husband to obtain information first-hand, so he relies even on stray rumours to formulate a charge of adultery against his wife. If the father delays to send the girl for some reason, it is interpreted that the girl must be having a lover. A conclusion is also drawn that the girl is of loose character if her mother is like that. Even when the wife is under the direct supervision of the husband, it does not require great efforts to inject suspicion into his mind against the moral conduct of his wife. Bad characters of the village when they find that a woman does not respond to their love, take revenge on her by poisoning the ears of the husband with all sorts of lies against her. When suspicion once comes to take its roots in his mind, it can never be dispelled; it makes him read adultery in every movement of his wife. The wife gets tired of the husband's treatment and runs away to her father. Finally there is divorce.

(b) **Quarrel between the families and divorce** :— It can be known from what is given under sex-revenge, that the rural people are very susceptible to their sense of honour. Any word or act which offends their 'honour' is considered an insult which must be returned in the same coin or avenged in the same form. A person who has insulted becomes the enemy with whom no cordial relations can be kept up. During the marriage or after, one of the parties may come to feel or interpret particular words or actions of the other as insulting to its 'honour'. In such a case, they do not desire to continue their relations with the other party. The father of the girl who feels insulted would refuse to send his daughter to her husband's. If it is the husband's party who feels insulted, they would not go to call the girl at all. In case the husband's party is satisfied with the girl it would keep her but would refuse to send her back to her father's for a few days even. But such instances are rare. Usually the husband's party refuses to receive the girl and presses for a divorce whenever it wants to break off from the girl's family. On the other hand, if the father of the girl is in a hurry to marry her to another, he takes the initiative in

effecting the divorce. In such cases the husband, before signing the divorce-letter, demands the divorces of his paternal sisters who are married into the family of his father-in-law as he is afraid that they may be ill-treated by their husbands who are his 'enemies' now.

(c) **Poverty of the husband and divorce** :—Whatever may be the economic status of the husband, he is expected to be rich enough to pay the bride-price, and the expenses of bed-ceremony. Some of those who are poor, exhaust their whole credit to collect a sum for the bride-price, and after marriage they find that they cannot defray the expenses of the bed-ceremony. Thus their wives remain at their father's and finally seek and obtain divorce.

(d) **Second marriage of the husband and divorce** :—A person may go in for a second marriage for various reasons, the most common one being the minority of the first wife. It can be seen from the discussions regarding the age at first marriage given in the chapter on Rural Population that marriage of a male adult with a female child is largely prevalent in the rural areas. In such cases, the husband naturally feels the need of a mature wife and so remarries a widow or a divorced woman. To avoid troubles in the future, some cautious husbands tender divorce to their first wife. If the husband does not do it, the father of the girl tries to obtain it. When neither of these happens and the first wife comes to her husband's to stay with him along with his second wife, troubles crop up. Quarrelling ensues between the two wives and the one less favoured by her husband falls out. She runs away to her father's and gets the divorce in due course.

(e) **Bringing of a mistress and divorce** :—Instead of marrying another woman, the husband may bring the woman he loves, into his house and keep her as his mistress. In this case also, the father may refuse to send his girl to him if she is not already staying with her husband and if she is with her husband she usually quarrels with the mistress and when the husband sides with the latter she leaves his place for her father's. Then in course of time divorce is effected.

(f) Ill-treatment and divorce :—Most of the wedded women have to suffer in their husbands' houses, some form of ill-treatment the severity of which varies with the individuals. The person ill-treating is not always the husband; the mother-in-law in many cases takes precedence; the husband's sister, husband's younger brothers and the wives of the husband's elder brothers all fall in the same category. The reasons for ill-treatment are also varied as the persons ill-treating. All women bear ill-treatment to a degree which their feminine patience can permit of and when it becomes unbearable, they run away to their parents.

Ill-treatment is also used as a means when the husband wants to get rid of his wife. The wife comes to be subjected to a systematic, prolonged and severe ill-treatment till her parents or her lover obtain her divorce by paying the sum demanded by the husband.

(g) Seniority of the wife and divorce :—The girl chosen for marriage is usually one who is junior to the bridegroom. But there is no social restriction on the choice of a girl who is senior to the boy. Such is the attachment to the maternal-uncle-niece form of marriage, that a sister insists upon the marriage of her daughter to her brother even though he may be junior to the girl. Again if the marriage is likely to prove profitable to them some of the greedy parents consent to the marriage of their son with a girl senior to him. However, marriages in which the bride is senior are rare and wherever they have been arranged, they have turned out unsuccessful. Because in such cases, the girl attains maturity before the boy steps into adolescence. Some parents defer the consummation of marriage till the boy grows into a youth. But in such cases the wife takes to forbidden ways of sex-satisfaction and those inconsiderate few who unite their boy with his grown-up wife so that the latter may not go astray, soon realise that their son is too weak to satisfy the passions of his wife.

(h) Health of the wife and divorce :—Health of the wife is an important factor contributing to the success of married life. A weak and sickly girl rarely stands chances of

getting a husband. Generally a person is married to a healthy girl only. But sometimes the girl may grow sickly after marriage. If the wife grows unfit only for manual work, and if the husband is kind enough, he may allow her to remain with him. But if she is suffering from a disease which incapacitates her for sexual intercourse, she is sent to her father's with a warning that she should come back only after a complete cure. The husband insists on divorce if she is not cured of her disease within a reasonable time.

(i) **Ugliness of the wife and divorce** :—At the time of marriage little consideration is given to the beauty of the bride. Few husbands also feel that ugliness of the wife is an impediment to conjugal happiness. It is only when the husband is attracted by a woman who is more beautiful, that he feels the ugliness of his wife and only then he thinks of getting rid of her. But ugliness is not considered by the rural society as a valid reason for a divorce. So the husband instead of taking the direct step in divorcing his wife has to proceed in an indirect way. He would begin to ill-treat her till she gets disgusted and runs away to her parents whom she appeals to obtain her divorce. Then he would press his father-in-law to obtain the divorce on the ground that his daughter had run away without his permission.

Divorce and the number of years lived together by the spouses :—In 47 cases (32.5 p. c.) out of a total of 148 cases, divorces were effected before the wife came to stay with her husband. In 27 cases (18.2 p. c.) the couples had lived for less than a year; in 43 cases (29.1 p. c.) they had lived for 1-5 years; in 30 cases (20.2 p. c.) for an average period of 8-6 years. Out of the last 30 cases, six couples were parents of a child and out of 43 cases who had lived for 1-5 years, three couples were parents before they had separated.

Family relationship between husband and wife before marriage and divorce :—In 97 out of 148 cases, information as regards relationship between husband and wife was not obtained. Out of other 51 cases, in three cases the husband was the maternal uncle of the woman and in two cases he was the cross-cousin. As data in this respect are very poor, it is not

possible to say whether relationship between husband and wife has any influence on divorce.

Remarried couple and divorce:—There are 22 cases of divorce between remarried couples in the collection. It is a significant thing to note that in 18 cases adultery was the chief cause. The period of time the remarried women lived with their husbands before divorce varied from a few days to a year, in most of the cases. It was only in 5 cases that this period was more than two years. The reason for this is simple. The woman who 'remarries' is either a widow or a divorced woman; so usually she is one who had a lover. After her remarriage she continues her relations with the old lover and this precipitates divorce.

The other conditions to divorce:—Though the husband can incorporate as many conditions in the divorce-letter, in practice, the payment of a particular sum is usually the only condition put forward while granting divorce. A few other conditions that are sometimes included in the divorce-letter are the following :—

(i) If the wife is pregnant, she is to hand over the child to her husband when it is born. (ii) The father of the wife is to give in marriage a daughter of his to a cousin of the husband. (iii) The wife and her lover are to go hand in hand through the street. (Only one case in which such a condition is imposed is recorded and this took place nine years back).

Divorce and the amount paid :—

Amount paid in rupees	Nil	Rs. 1-99	Rs. 100-150	Rs. 150-500	above Rs. 500
No. of cases	16	14	93	19	9

The amount paid varies from individual to individual and mostly depends on (i) the cause of divorce (ii) the demands of the husband (iii) the paying capacity of the obtainer of divorce (iv) and lastly on the verdict of the Panch. When adultery is the cause, as pointed out above, the husband may give

divorce free. In 13 out of 16 cases of divorces which were effected for no payment, adultery of the wife was the cause of divorce. At the same time, most of the divorces which are paid more than Rs. 150 had also adultery as the cause. When the parents or the lover of the girl is rich a large sum is usually demanded and exacted by the husband when he can prove the adultery of his wife.

Conclusion :—To an outsider who is ignorant of the social customs of the rural people, it may appear unreasonable and unjust that the sole authority to grant divorce should be vested in the husband and that he should demand money for granting it, even when it is effected for no fault of the wife or that of her father. But the rural society does not subscribe to this view. So far, nobody has registered any protest against the divorce system as it exists at present. On the other hand, the prevailing opinion is that the system is on a fair basis. It is already explained that according to rural people wife is a property. So when the husband wants to dispose of her, it is natural that he should see that he gets at least what he had actually paid for her. The husband has the right to make the best out of the bargain. It is not any more unjust for him if he asks for a large amount than for a trader to charge a higher price for a thing which is in keen demand. It is significant that the husband does not ordinarily demand an amount which may appear unreasonable to the elders of his community. Even, if he does, his demand will not be acceded to unless elders of his community approve of it. In short, the whole system has the social sanction behind it.

CHAPTER X

Marriage customs of the Panchamsali Lingayats

Introduction :—As marriage customs vary from caste to caste it is not ordinarily possible to study the marriage customs of a region which is inhabited by many castes. For a detailed study, it was decided to select only one caste. The choice fell on the Panchamsali Lingayats who constitute the bulk of the cultivating class in Karnatak. The Panchamsalis are a caste among Lingayats. Secondly, the marriage customs of many non-brahmin castes, with slight differences in detail are on similar lines as those of the Panchamsalis.

A wedding ceremony among the Panchamsalis ordinarily lasts for two days. So an account of a wedding ceremony of two days only, is given in this chapter.

(i) **The Proposal :—**Among the Panchamsalis, in the ordinary course, the boy's side takes the initial step and it is the bride groom who is to be first approved by the girl's side. If the match is going to be one between relatives, the matter may be sounded even by the bride's party. In cases where the girl's parents aspire for an educated son-in-law who is not likely to propose to them for their daughter, the former takes the initiative. The honorary services of an intermediary are usually engaged by the groom's side in forwarding the proposal to the father or the guardian of the 'girl, which is in the form of an invitation to come over to the boy's house and consider whether they can approve of the boy and his family for a matrimonial suit.

Before complying with the request the parents of the girl see that the proposal satisfies the following conditions.

Endogamous restrictions: The Panchamsali being a Lingayat cannot marry a non-Lingayat. From among the Lingayats he can choose a girl from Panchamsalis only. But he can marry his sister or daughter into the Banajig¹ caste. In

1. It is a caste among Lingayats, higher to Panchamsalis in social status.

such a case, a ceremony is to be performed after which the girl cannot go to her mother's house. But there is no caste which can contract hypergamous relations with the Panchamsalis. (ii) Exogamous restrictions: The Panchamsalis follow Bedagu exogamy.¹ (iii) Other restrictions: On the maternal side he cannot marry the daughter of his mother's sister. It is also asserted that persons the sisterly relations of whose mothers can be traced cannot marry. But there is difference of opinion on this point. However, marriages between persons who are related in third or beyond generations on their maternal side, are not absent.

If the proposal satisfies all the conditions, the parents of the girl start on one auspicious evening with at least three others including a female to the groom's house. That night they are feasted with 'shavagi' payasa². The topic is not opened till morning when the guests are taken round and shown the fields, cattle, and other belongings of the groom's family. When all is over, they may go away and inform their decision at a later date. In this case they would not wait there for dinner. A prolonged talk till dinner time is indicative of a favourable decision. That noon relatives are invited to partake of 'holige' cakes with the guests. After the feast, the father of the bride requests boy's father to visit his place to interview the girl. At the time of departure of the guests in the afternoon the female members are presented with a 'khan' or bodice cloth and the males with a red piece of cloth³ for the 'Linga' and a turban, if he can afford.

On some other day the father of the boy with four others including at least one female starts at an auspicious hour to the house of the girl. That night they enjoy a supper of 'shyavagi payas'. In the morning some elders are invited to the house of the girl. All sit in the parlour reclining against pillows chewing betelnuts or leaves and talking about formal matters. The guardian of the girl just calls out or beckons to the girl who dressed in her best and with ornaments on the

1. For particulars; Vide Chapter on system of marriage. 2. Vermicilli, vide, glossary.

3. Red piece of cloth is used for covering Linga worn by Lingayats.

body and ashes to the forehead makes her appearance before the guests.

Formal questions are put to her. The guests measure her stature with their eyes and see whether there are any physical defects.

Then they take a thread and measure all the fingers and toes. If the length when these are added together, equals that between her toe and the middle of the forehead where the kunkum is applied, it is considered a good sign. Otherwise it is presumed that such a marriage would bring about the death of the husband. They also see the lines on the palm. But both these practices are now out of vogue.

At the end of the interview some one from the guests in applies 'Kunkum' to her forehead and places five fruits — usually plantains or dates — in her lap.

2. Settlement of Marriage :—If the boy's party approves of the age, beauty and the health of the girl and the status of her family, then the assembly that had collected to see the girl converts itself into a bargaining group. The girl's father is the seller, the buyer being the boy's father. The seller states his maximum demands and goes on slackening them. The buyer offers the minimum and gradually raises the amount. A bargain is struck at a point where formers's demand and latter's offer meet and thus settlement of marriage takes place.

(a) The usual demands of the girl's father are :—

1. About ornaments to be put on the girl, 5 to 9 Puthali's of gold. 2. Silver chain for ankles (of Rs. 15-40). 3. Silver belt of the waist (Rs. 4-5). 4. Ear ornaments (Re. 4-5).

5. A neck-lace (of four tolas of gold); usually this is borrowed from a relative to be put on the bride for a day.

(2) Bride-price :—The amount may vary from a few rupees to a few hundred depending upon individual cases.

(3) Saris to be given :—(i) Sari¹ for the father's mother (Rs. 4). (ii) For the mother (Rs. 4). (iii) ' Bastagi ' sari (Rs. 10). (iv) ' Procession ' sari (Rs. 25).

1. Price of clothes given in this chapter relate to those prevailing in 1940.

(b) Things usually demanded by the bridegroom's father:-

(i) One ring for the bride-groom, one turban, one dhoti and one shirt.

It is also decided whether the bride-groom is to be given all these articles or their money-worth in cash. If it is to be paid in cash there is no actual payment. That much amount is deducted from the settled bride-price.

The guests are entertained at a feast after which the female guests are given a bodice-cloth and the males a red piece of cloth. The party returns in the noon having settled the conditions of marriage.

3 Bethrothal.

Bastagi or sealing of settlement:—This ceremony can be held at any time before marriage. If the boy is in a hurry to marry, it is arranged at his house. But the usual place is that of the girl.

The boy's father informs the elders of the girl that a particular auspicious day is convenient for him to attend 'bastagi' ceremony. If it is not inconvenient to the other side, the same day is fixed. The relatives of the boy consisting of ten to fifteen persons including some females present themselves in the house of the girl on the appointed day. They bring with them:—(1) The sari for bastagi ceremony, (2) Ornaments as settled, (3) Two bodice-cloth, (4) Six seers of refined sugar, (5) Four seers of betel nut. (6) 500 betel leaves. (7) Two maunds of country sugar.

If they meet with an oil-man on the way they simply break a cocoanut before God to nullify its bad effects.

In the afternoon the 'Chavaliga'¹ of the girl's village goes round to the 'rightful' persons and invites them to the ceremony. He pours some oil as a token of invitation in a vessel belonging to them.

The following are the rightful persons who are invited and expected to be present on the occasion:—1 Patil, 2 Kulkarni, 3 Desai or the land-lord of the village. 4 Deshpande or the

1. A person whose main duty is to invite persons, vide glossary

village accountant. 5 Inamdar, one who holds alienated land. 6 Ayya or priest. The elders of the village, the relatives of girl and other spectators also throng at the place.

An elder from the boy's party exhibits the things brought to the assembly. The elders scrutinize the ornaments and inquire of the girl's father whether he is satisfied with the things brought. Even if he complains he is however persuaded to keep quiet. No settlement breaks down at this stage though grumbling is audible.

The 'chavaliga' distributes the betel-leaves to the 'rightful' persons commencing from the Ayyas.

Then a relative from each side stands up with a betel-nut and two betel leaves in hand. The person representing the bride's father announces that they have promised their girl to such and such a person. Then the person from the boy's side follows him with a declaration that such and such a person has selected this girl. They exchange the betel-nut and betel-leaves.

'Chavaliga' begins distributing leaves to the other people. The ornaments are taken inside. The refined sugar is distributed. At this time the girl, with all the ornaments on comes towards the 'rightful' persons and bows to the whole congregation.

That night the guests are served 'shyavagi payasa'.¹ The next day a feast is arranged to the 'rightful' persons, some of whom like the Kulkarni and Deshapande who do not share meals with Panchamsalis are given 'shida'.²

Marriage can be performed at any time after 'bastagi.' If marriage is held over, the father of the boy has to send to the girl on the fifth day of Shravana, i. e. on the Naga-panchami day, copra, fried rice, some 'chandu'³ flowers, and a sari, till the year of marriage and also after that till she finally comes to stay with her husband after her puberty.

1. Country sugar brought by the boy's party is used to prepare this dish.

2. All articles necessary and sufficient for a good meal, vide glossary.

3. Kind of flowers, called 'zandu' in Marathi.

4. Preparations for marriage.

a Preparations on bride-groom's side :—Marriage among Panchamsalis is actually performed at the bride-groom's place. So all the preparations for marriage are to be made by the bride-groom's side. Before anything else, the boy's father or guardian decides upon an auspicious date¹ for marriage in consultation with his priest and if the same is not inconvenient to the girl's party it is confirmed. When the date for marriage is fixed, immediately on some auspicious day, five non-widows² are requested by the mother of the boy to help her in worshipping the grinding wheel and pounding mortar and pestle. On that day the invited non-widows gather and worship the things mentioned by applying them 'kunkum' and holy ashes; groundnuts are placed before these things as offerings. After the worship, laps of the invited non-widows are filled by the host with two betel-leaves, one areca-nut, and some ground-nuts. Other women who attend this ceremony are applied 'kunkum.' Then the non-widows powder turmeric between the grinding wheels and then in the mortar and then withdraw. This worship marks the beginning of grinding and pounding work which is followed by preparations of different kinds of eatables. A week or two before marriage an auspicious date is fixed to do shopping of corn and clothes in required quantities. The details of the clothes to be purchased are as under :—

(a) Clothes for the bride as settled (refer back). (b) A sari with a reddish border and a white bodice cloth for the bride. The sari is to be dipped yellow in turmeric-water before it is presented to the bride at the time of 'arishina' or turmeric ceremony. (c) A sari and a bodice cloth for the boy's mother. (d) A dhoti, a turban and a 'pairan' for the father of the boy. (e) A sari and a khan for the father's mother of the boy. (f) A sari each for the sisters of the boy. (g) Clothes for the bride-groom—a coat, dhotis and 'pairans.

1. Only a date is fixed and not the hour of wedlock.

2. Only those non-widows or women whose first husband is living can take part in marriage ceremonies. Similarly only those males whose first wife is living can take part.

(h) A dhoti for the person who brings 'basing' or coronet. (i) A kerchief to the person who brings 'Halagamba' or milk-post. (j) Clothes for presenting to elders (this is optional). Among other preparations may be mentioned, erection of a pandal, decoration of the house and sending invitations. When a few days are left, the father of the bride-groom suggests to the bride's party that they may start on such and such a day. Then he sends a cart with a representative of his, to escort the party to the village.

(b) **Preparations on bride's side** :—Bride's party has hardly anything to prepare. On an auspicious day, the father of the girl goes to the market and purchases clothes for the bride-groom and some for the members of his family. Usually he takes from the father of the bride-groom a part of the bride price fixed to make these purchases. Then some eatables are prepared for 'bhuma' ceremony. Then they hold themselves in readiness to start on the appointed day.

5. Preliminaries to wedlock.

The 'guggul' or **God-humouring ceremony** :—'Guggul' ceremony can be called the God-humouring ceremony. It is intended to invoke the blessings of God Veerabhadra¹. The performance of this ceremony is obligatory on those families who have the image of this God in their house. In the case of other families, it is optional. This ceremony is performed on the day before wedlock. On the day before this ceremony in the afternoon the 'chavaliga' proceeds with a non-widow holding 'arti' or sacred light to the house of the 'rightful' persons. Another person accompanies them beating on an instrument called 'sambal.' The 'chavaliga' gives some oil and a betel-nut with some leaves to each of the rightful persons. Then all the three visit the houses of all 'Pavanteru' or the devotees of God Veerabhadra, a village goldsmith, a carpenter and a potter to invite them in the same manner.

On receiving the invitation, the potter communicates to the father of the bride-groom that he would be waiting in the 'math' with four pitchers necessary for the ceremony. Then non-widows not less than five in number go to the 'math,'

1. Son of God Shiva.

give the potter 'shida,' betel-leaves, betel-nuts, and five pices or one rupee and bring the pitchers to the house. They are then placed on a blanket strewn over with 'sheshakki' or holy rice. In due time the goldsmith arrives and cuts out the round bottoms of the pitchers and inscribes on them, 'Om namo Shivāya.' He is also given 'shida'. Then 'Pavanterus' come. They make the pitchers without bottoms stand on their necks, and then place the cutout parts inside so as to cover the hollow of the neck. They apply paste of wheat flour all over inside and then cover the paste with a thick layer of earth used for making pots. Then chips of ordinary wood are pushed inside all round the pitcher into the paste. One or two sandal chips supplied by the carpenter at this time in return for 'shida' are also inserted erect. The sides of the pitchers are stuffed with cotton seeds soaked in oil. A chip is kept straight by wrapping it one over the other with twelve bracelets made out of rags. Some particles of bdellium gum are dropped inside. Some dry dates, lemons, and turmeric roots are hung loose from the pitchers with the help of pieces of thread, one end of which is pasted to the outside surface of the pitcher. Then all the pitchers are placed before the Gods in the house.

Early next morning the 'Parvanterus' are given 'shida' which they cook in the 'math' and partake of. All 'Parvanterus' who are present in the village attend the 'math' in uniform which consists of a long coat of red colour, trousers, and a turban. They tie bells to their ankles and carry a red kerchief in the hand. At about ten in the morning they start in a procession from the 'math' to the house of the bride-groom. One of them leads with the 'Nandikol'.¹ On the way, Lingayat families pour potfuls of water at the foot of the 'Nandikol' and wave a candal stick or burn camphor before it. When the procession reaches the marriage pandal, the bride-groom's father pours some water and ties a 'rumal' or red kerchief to the image of Nandi. The 'Parvanterus' are paid a rupee or two. By this time the bride-groom, his mother, his brother and his father's mother are ready having

1. It is a long stick or bamboo to the middle of which an image of nandi or bull is attached.

finished their bath. None of them is to taste anything. Women are not to put on bodice and men are to be dressed only in dhoti. All four stand before the pitchers and Parvanterus chant in turn the 'vadapus'¹ or panegyric of God Veera-bhadra. 'Parvanterus' worship the pitchers with a sandal stick and then with camphor which is next used to light things inside the pitchers. The pitchers are then taken out and carried on the shoulders by the 'Parvanterus' who start now in a procession to the outskirts of the village. The bride-groom, his mother, brother and father's mother follow the 'Parvanterus' with hands folded as in a 'namaskar' or Hindu form of salute. On the way, the Parvanterus' keep on repeating 'vadapus.' When they reach the destination, the pitchers are emptied of their contents or 'sunk' as the vernacular expression goes. Any relative or friend may make present to the bride-groom or his mother at this time. The empty pitchers are brought home and placed before the Gods in the house. Ashes are applied to the forehead of all.

Arrival of the bride's party :—The bride's party starts to the place of the bride-groom at such a time as would enable it to be present at the latter's place before dusk time on the day before wedlock. When the cart is about two miles from the village, the elderly man who had been deputed by the bride-grooms father to invite the bride's party to their place, walks in advance to inform the bride-groom's father of the arrival of the guests who unyoke the bullocks some-where near the village. The deputy then carries water, jauggery and groundnuts to the guests camping outside the village. At about night-fall, the bride-groom's party consisting of the bride-groom's parents, elders, and the priest come to the gate of the village to accord a reception to the guests who also by this time present themselves at the same place. The priest of the girl's side steps forward with a cocoanut in his hand and stands confronting the priest of the other party. A line is drawn in between the two. The members of each party call out to those of the other to cross over the line; this goes on for a long time from five minutes to many hours according

1. Refer to rural songs.

to the stiffness of stand taken by each. If the boy's party is adamant, the other party has to yield, but usually after some show of stiffness each adopts a compromising attitude. There are no instances of marriages broken off on this point. The cocoanuts are exchanged by the priests. Presents may also be given here. 'Kunkum' is applied to the girl and 'arti' waved. Then the girl and her party are escorted to the residence of the boy. The bride is usually taken seated on a horse and is veiled from view. At the door of the boy's, the girl's feet are washed and some rice-balls are waved before her face before she is taken inside, and made to bow down to the Gods. The other members of her party take rest for a while in the marriage pandal till accommodation is made for them in a house reserved by the bride-groom's father. The whole party is feasted with 'holige' cakes by the host at the latter's residence. Usually men take the supper first and when they return to the lodge women come over. By the time all finish up their meals, it is midnight.

Preparations for 'Arisina' or turmeric ceremony go on in the house of a woman, the initial letter of whose name is the same as that of the star which rises on the marriage date. The bride and the bride-groom are made to sit in the 'jagali' or God's room and five non-widows apply oil and turmeric to their feet, wrists, and cheeks. Some-where out-side the house they keep four pots at four corners with a Kalashagindi or a metal pot in the middle. An enclosure is made by taking a thread specially spun by the host round the four pots five times. A non-widow goes on watering with a pot, round the enclosure and the bride-groom and the bride follow her one behind the other, each putting in some rice over the water line. When they finish five rounds the bride-groom sits inside on a wooden seat by first placing his right foot on it; the bride occupies another seat to his left. Then the host pours water over them. The bride-groom wrings out water from his dhoti and dries up his body with it. They are given new clothes to wear. The bride is given the yellow sari. Turmeric is again applied to both in the same way. 'Arti' is then waved by five non-widows who insist on the bride-groom to utter the name of the bride and he does it only when he hears from each of them

her husband's name. The bride also does the same thing when she is asked the name of the bride-groom. Then the thread constituting the enclosure is lifted up by four non-widows standing at four corners, without allowing it to touch the couple. The thread is wound and kept in the 'kalasha gindi'. The bride and the bride-groom are carried over by some relative of theirs on shoulders or waist to the 'jagali'. There they bow to Gods and are given 'Shyavagi' dish to taste. After this, all retire to their places. The bride is sent to the house where her party is lodged. It is nearly 2 A. M. by this time.

Bringing of Halkamba or Milk-posts.—Early in the morning, a person whose name has got the same first letter as that of marriage date waits outside the village with branches of 'shami' tree and 'atti' tree. Some non-widows go with an 'arti' to receive him. Rice balls are waved round his face when he comes to the marriage pandal. The branches are tied to a pillar standing near the seats of the bride and the bride-groom and the person is presented with a turban and a dhoti.

Bringing of 'Guladali' or sacred thread.—Some ten non-widows go with 'shida' and 'arti', to the house of the goldsmith and give him 'Shida' and ten annas. He gives 'guladali', which is taken to the pandal and kept before the Gods.

Visiting the temples.—At about noon, the bride-groom visits all the leading temples of the locality to pay his homage to the Gods.

Bringing of 'basing' or Chaplet and 'Dandi' or Coronet.—Another person whose name has got the same first letter as that of marriage date brings 'basing' and 'dandi' from the town and waits outside the village. Some non-widows go with an 'arti' and take him to his house. Rice-balls are waved round his face and he is presented with a turban and a dhoti. 'Basing' and 'dandi' are kept in the God's room in his house.

Bringing of 'Airani Mogi' or pots.—In the afternoon, some non-widows not less than five in number go with an 'arti' to the 'Math' where the potter is waiting for them with five pots one of which is slightly bigger than the rest. The potter

is given 'shida', betelnut, and leaves and some copper coins. He makes five non-widows pronounce their husband's names before he allows them to carry the pots. The pots are placed in the God's room of the bride-groom.

Bringing of 'suragi-niru or water for 'suragi' ceremony.—

Some non-widows go to the lodge of the bride's party to invite them for 'suragi' ceremony. A non-widow of the brides party carries a pitcher containing hot scented water and others carry 'bhuma' or different kinds of eatables. All start towards the marriage pandal. The bride also accompanies the party. In the gate of the pandal the guests are welcomed by the parents of the bride-groom who present a sari to the woman carrying 'suragi' water and a 'khan' to other persons carrying eatables if they are females and a kerchief of red cloth if they are males. All the things brought are placed in the 'jagli'.

6 Wedlock¹

The ceremony of "suragi niru":—In the marriage pandal, an enclosure is made with a thread, in the same way as in the 'arishina' ceremony. A non-widow goes round the enclosure pouring water and the bride-groom, the bride, the bride-groom's father's mother, the bride-groom's mother, the bride's father's mother, and the bride's mother follow her one behind the other throwing rice on the water-line. When they have completed five rounds, the last six persons sit inside. All of them are bathed with the 'suragi' water. The bride and the bride-groom dry up their bodies and put on new clothes. The bride-groom wears a dhoti, a 'pairan,' a coat, a turban, and a shawl and the bride, a sari and a bodice. 'Arti' is then waved turmeric is applied and rice is thrown over the couple by seven non-widows one after the other. The thread is now lifted up without touching the couple and kept in one of the pots. All the six persons who had sit inside the enclosure are given presents by their friends and relatives excepting the brothers. The mother of the bride is given a sari by the mother of the bride-groom, who in turn receives one from the former. Bride and bride-groom are then carried separately by some one of

1. Wed-lock is performed usually in the evening; no hour or moment is fixed.

their relatives to the 'jagali'. There both of them partake of 'bhuma'. Each has to swallow at least five morsels of rice and 'shyavagi' dish.

Ceremony of 'Airani Suragi':—'Airani' pots are taken to the house of the person who had brought 'basing'. An enclosure is made in the same way as in the ceremony of 'Airshina" but in this case, 'Airani' pots are used instead of 'gindis' or metal pots. The bigger pot is placed, in the middle of the enclosure. Turmeric pieces, dry dates, some rice and a pice are put in each of the five pots. This whole arrangement is called 'Airani suragi'. In the enclosure, only the bride-groom sits and the priest ties 'basing' to his head. The bride is made to sit outside the enclosure and 'dandi' is tied to her head. The bride-groom then throws some seasamum on the bride. Enclosure is removed and the bride-groom rides a bull. Both of them are taken in a procession to the marriage pandal.

'Akkikal' ceremony or wedlock:—Some non-widows belonging to both the parties go round the village with rice reddened with 'kunkum' and invite the people to attend 'akkikal' ceremony. They place some rice on the palm of lady of the house they invite. Ayyas arrange 'Pancha-kalasha' or five metal pots, four of which they keep at four corners with a fifth in the middle.

A thread is taken round the four vessels five times. A saddle of bullocks is placed in front of the thread enclosure and the couple are made to sit upon it. The father of the bride washes the feet of the bride-groom and presents him with whatever things he wants to give. At this stage, the bride-groom, if he is bent on exacting more of presents, pretends anger and refuses to take part in the ensuing ceremony. A 'Kankan' or bracelet made of a turmeric piece attached to the thread used in 'Airani Suragi' is tied to the wrist of the bride and that of the bride-groom. The bride-groom touches the 'Guladali' and gives it to the Ayyas who consecrate with 'mantras' and pass it on to some non-widows who then tie it to the neck of the bride with the thread that had been used in the ceremony of 'Suragi niru'. The bride groom gives the 'pilles' or toe-ornaments to a non-widow who fits them on the

toes of the bride. Then the priest gives 'Kunkum' to the bride-groom who applies it to the fore-head of the bride and throws rice on her head. 'Udiyakki' or a knot containing rice, a cocoanut and some turmeric pieces, is tied separately to the end of the sari of the bride and to that of bride-groom's shawl. Rice reddened with 'Kunkum' is given to every member of the gathering to be thrown on the couple. Amidst the playing of music, enchantment of 'Mantras' and singing of songs, all stand up and throw rice on the couple. Some non-widows then throw 'Sheshakki' or handful of rice on the couple who are now considered husband and wife.

The guests are given betelnut and leaves. 'Dakshina' or some coins are given to priests. The bride's party and other invited persons return to their places.

(7) **Rejoicing after wedlock** :—The same night the father of the bride-groom entertains his relatives and those of his daughter-in law to a grand feast. After the feast the married couple are taken in a procession on horse-back to all the leading temples. People of the village are also invited to join the procession. This procession is the most ceremonious occasion when the bride-groom's party spend all they can to put up a good show. Procession moves so slowly that it requires 4-5 hours to return to the pandal. Particular care is taken to see that it does not return very early. When the procession returns to the gate of the marriage pandal, a plough is given on the shoulders of the bride-groom. His elder sister steps forward and asks him, "wither art thou bound, brother?" "Out to sow the seed", he replies. "I want your fruit, then," she persists, "what do you mean?", he inquires. "I want your daughter", she tells by way of explanation. But again he asks her, you want 'hannu (i. e. fruit) or henṇu' (i. e. a girl)?" She replies that she wants his daughter to be married to her son. After making a show of consulting his wife, he promises his sister to give his daughter to her son. Then rice balls are waved round the couple. The bride-groom steps in the pandal by trampling upon with his right foot some corn kept in a measure just in front of him. At the next door his mother and some times his father too fall at his feet and take a promise from him that he would not fail to protect them in future.

The pair then go to the 'jagali' to bow down to the Gods and then to the elders. 'Basing' and 'dandi' are now removed and with this the programme of the day comes to an end.

Games :—Next morning, the husband and wife are made to take part in games and plays. The following are some of them;

1. The husband sits to the right of his wife on a wooden seat and forces turmeric paste into the mouth of his wife with his left hand. When he has finished, his wife also does the same thing to him with both of her hands.

2. Husband holds a betal-nut between his thumb and the next finger and the wife tries to draw it out with both of her hands. Then wife in her turn holds one in her fist and the husband is to draw it out with his thumb and another finger. The same is to be done five times to complete a game. In this game the husband invariably wins and wife suffers a defeat. This game is played five times before noon.

3. A sugar ball wrapped in clothes is given in the hands of the wife and then she requests her husband to take that 'child' in his arms as she has to fetch water. But the latter excuses himself on the pretext that he has to go to the fields.

4. Husband and wife in turn hold some betelnuts in a hand and ask the other 'even or odd?' If the answer turns out wrong it is considered a defeat.

Other people enjoy these games at the expense of the husband or wife.

Send off to bride's party :—On the next day of marriage, in the noon, the father of the bride-groom invites all the members of the bride's party for a feast. After the feast, relatives exchange presents. A thread enclosure as in the 'arishina' ceremony is arranged and the couple are made to sit inside. Turmeric is applied to them. At some places they are also bathed. Then they are carried to the 'jagali' and given rice to taste. This ceremony is called 'Nagoli' ceremony, and this is to be performed without accompaniment of any music. Nagoli ceremony is a ceremonial send-off to the bride's party. After this ceremony, bride's party cannot stay as the guests

of the bride-groom's father. As a saying goes, not even a dog of bride's party can taste water in the house of the bride-groom after 'Nagoli' ceremony. So the guests make preparations to leave that place. The father of the bride-groom accompanies the guests as far as the outskirts of the village. Here guests pay tips to 'halabs' or village servants and to talvar or watchman. Vermilion water is sometimes sprinkled on the guests. Then all the members of the bride's party including the bride get in a cart or two lent free by their new relative who now bids them good bye with the words 'hog barri' or go and come back. The cart rattles off.

8. A critical review of marriage ceremonies.—Contrary to the general custom among the Hindus in other parts of India or among Brahmins in Karnatak, marriage is performed at the place of the bride-groom. Preliminaries to the settlement of marriage unmistakably point out that marriage is only another form of contract, the parties to the contract being the father of the girl and the parent of the boy and the object of transaction being the girl. In other words marriage is no 'Kanya-dana' or the giving away of the girl in alms, as Hindu scriptures imply, but it is a pure form of 'kanyavikraya' or selling of the girl to the highest bidder subject to certain conditions. Thus there is the usual form of higgling before parties finally strike a bargain in the presence of a few elders. But this contract is not binding as long as it is not sealed in the presence of the whole community, and 'bastagi' ceremony is intended only for this purpose. The 'chavaliga,' the official bailiff of the society extends invitation to the community leaders and authorities to attend the ceremony to bear witness to the contract. The Desai or the hereditary land-lord of the village, the Deshapande or the hereditary accountant, the Patil or village Police-officer, the Kulkarni or revenue official, the Matha-pati or beadle, and other elders of the village have to be present—(They are given oil by the chawaliga probably to defray the light expenses they have to incur while attending the ceremony at night). In the presence of all, the priests who are in fact the representatives of both the parties solemnly declare the names of the parties, the object and the terms of the contract and as though to affix the signature to the con-

tract, exchange betel-leaves. It is to be noted in this connection that whenever a tenant fixes rent of a field the custom is that he has to give betel-nut and leaves to the land lord. An advance in the form of gold is given by the father of the boy though bride price is paid when he takes delivery of his girl in marriage. The girl with all the ornaments on is brought before the assembly so that the gathering may see the object of the contract and the advance paid. Thereafter, the father has no right to dispose of the girl to any other person without returning the ornaments. In case the father of the boy breaks the contract, he forfeits the advance paid. Hereafterwards the father of the bride-groom has to send certain articles to the girl every year if marriage is not performed the same year, just to remind the other party that his claim is intact.

But as far as the bride and the bride-groom are concerned marriage is a union intended to be inseparable. In the marriage pandal just near the seating arrangement of the couple is tied to a post, a branch of an 'atti' tree with that of a 'shami' tree. The thorn of the latter is symbolic of the dissociation of the bride from her paternal clan and the sticky juice oozing out of the 'atti' branch signifies cementing of her relations with the bride-groom. This 'halakamba' has been interpreted as 'ensuring the continuity of the line, and the term has been translated as 'milk-post' in English. In Kannada, the term 'halu' is used not only for milk but also for white-juice of anything. So 'halagamba' is not a milk post, but a 'juice-post' symbolizing the union of the boy and the girl.

Before marriage ceremony comes to a close, the boy and the girl are made to sit in a thread enclosure on three different occasions—immediately when the bride arrives for marriage,¹ just during wedlock² and lastly, just before the girl leaves for her father's house. Enclosure implies that the two persons are now tied together in their struggle of life. All the three occasions selected for the 'suragi,' are important in as-much-as they remind the couple that alliance they are entering into is a union, on three important occasions, namely, when they

1. Arishina ceremony. 2. 'Suragi niru' ceremony.

meet each other, when they are about to be joined in wedlock; and when they are to leave after marriage.

They are also made to eat together just after 'the suragi' before marriage and also after marriage. This also shows that marriage is considered a union of the bride-groom and the bride. The union is not merely a physical one but it is religious and holy. The persons to the union must be hallowed before they are joined together. Probably for this reason only, the couple are bathed three times, and once with scented water brought from the house of the bride. Water used for the purpose is brought from the river. Fasting on the day of 'Guggul' ceremony is also undertaken with a view to purifying oneself before marriage.

As marriage is the happy occasion the participants in the marriage are afraid that the evil spirits out of envy might throw obstacles in the consummation of marriage and measures are devised to ward off the evil spirit and to propitiate God. Ill-omens are strictly avoided while going to the house of girl for inter-viewing her. Expediency of the union is sometimes determined by astrological research and a propitious day for the wedding is selected. Only men and women whose first husband or wife is living are allowed to take part in religious ceremonies. The person who brings 'basinga' 'halagamba,' or one who winds the thread in 'suragi' must have for his or her name the same initial letter as that of the marriage-lucky date. Brace-let is tied to the hands of the couple as proof against the working of meaner spirits. Black pigment is applied to the cheeks of the bride-groom and those of the bride, so that their faces should not appear too beautiful to invite the evil eye. For the same reason, rice balls are waved round the faces of the bride and the bride-groom.

Some ceremonies like the 'Guggal' ceremony aim at securing the good wishes of the God against any mishap that might befall the couple.

But wedding, from the social point of view, is a publicity agency proclaiming to the world that the couple are going to enter on a new status with numerous attendant rights which

others must respect. All other members are to regard the bride as taboo for all sexual matters and that her off-spring shall enjoy all rights to succession and inheritance that are prevalent in the society. Most of the marriage ceremonies are intended for advertizement of wedlock. Music is employed only for this purpose. The procession after marriage is under taken to notify to all those who had not attended the nuptials that the two persons are now joined in wedlock. The 'gula-dali' in the neck of the bride is a token that the woman already belongs to some-one.

As Panchamalis are farmers the stamp of peasant life is well-impressed on many ceremonies. Like the typical peasant who never worries himself about punctuality, marriage is not contracted at the exact lucky hour, as among Brahmins. Only an auspicious day is fixed. As evening is the convenient time for the cultivators, most of the ceremonies are arranged in the evening. Even when they go to see the girl they start so as to reach the place in the evening. Bride-groom has to ride on the bull when he has to come to the marriage pandal from the house where the 'basing' is tied to him. The couple are seated on a saddle of only a bull when rice is to be thrown on them.

Marriage is a joyous occasion—songs are sung, jokes hurled, ornaments and finery are worn, and feasts are enjoyed. The games played by the wedded couple lend gaiety to the occasion. There is a flutter of laughter when married women or the bride blush while uttering the names of husbands. Small boys and girls enjoy themselves by tying the end of the sari to that of the shirt of the bride-groom. The ever-playing music thrills and awakens the buoyancy in the young and old alike.

That marriage is contracted to propagate the race is well-hinted by an inter-lude in the marriage when the sister asks the bride-groom 'whether art thou bound with plough on the shoulders' to which the latter retorts, 'out to sow the seed'. Giving of 'sugar balls' in the hands of the bride also signifies the same thing.

CHAPTER XI

The Sex Life

Introduction:—Sex life has come to be enshrouded in mysteries and all talk on sex is tabooed by the traditional prudery of society. Utmost tact and persuasion had to be used to take the people into confidence before inquiries about sex life could be made. The bulk of data for this chapter is drawn from three principal sources. 1 Direct observation. 2 Accounts of their own sex experience, as stated by different people. 3 Accounts of sex life of others as told by some informants. As the information about sex is more liable to understatement or overstatement than anything else, the confessions were noted down after making full allowance for the mood and nature of the confessionist. Similarly the statements of the informants were duly discounted according to the nature and motive of the persons concerned. Wherever possible, the statements were verified and corrected. Precautions in every possible way were taken to guard the material from rumours and gossips.

But the data collected cannot claim to be exhaustive. Most of the confessionists with the exception of four were males. Information about sex life of women could not be obtained from them only. This deficiency has handicapped the full portrayal of the life of both the sexes. In some places the subject is treated only from the male's point of view. To this extent the study suffers from being one-sided. Though it is shown how the woman behaves under the influence of sex-urge, it has not been possible to show how she feels and thinks. The method followed in the chapter is both analytical and illustrative.

(i) **From infancy to adolescence:—**The child has a natural curiosity to know things. But the environment in which the rural child is brought is such that it comes to extend this innate curiosity to know things in general, to sex matters also at an unusually early age. The principal factors in the rural environment that goad the curiosity of the child to sex matters are:—1 the vulgar talk. 2 vulgar jokes.

- 3 nudity of children, 4 teachings of the sexually vicious.
5 open copulation of animals.

Vulgar expressions are habitually employed by the rural people just to make their speech more impressive. The abuses which persons hurl at each other when a quarrel ensues are the most obscene. "Whore", "bastard", "widow's son" are some of the terms of endearment used with reference to children in the lower classes. Similarly jokes which flavour of vulgarity are cut at the expense of innocent children. Questions on sex matters are put to them and they are also told the answers which they are directed to repeat when the same question is put to them. Sexually vicious persons arouse the curiosity of children by inquiring of them as to what their parents do at night and also by teaching them some of the vices. The nudity of children helps children to think of anatomical difference of sexes. The male child can see that he is differently made from his sister. The same thing he notices when he accompanies his mother while she goes to answer the calls of nature. For some time he evinces peculiar interest in peeping into the private parts of girls when they are urinating. Free and open copulation of animals in Nature arrests his attention. The scenes of a cow being crossed by a bull, a goat by a he-goat and a she buffalo by a he-buffalo suggest to him that there is anatomical as well as functional difference between the sexes.

Malpractices in childhood.—During this period certain sexual malpractices can be detected which though harmless in themselves have an important bearing on the precocious awakening of the sex-impulse.

(a) *By elders*:—Parents and other relatives kiss the private part of the male child; sometimes they stroke it with the hand and bring about an erection; they pull it long joking that it is short and needs elongating; draw back the foreskin or hold it in the hand and threaten to cut it into parts.

(b) *By the self*:—The child is always seen holding his penis in the hand or pulling it long; he also plays with it—drawing back and up the prepuce of the glans alternately; while urinating he holds the penis in his hand to direct the

flow of urine in many fanciful ways ; when he has nothing to do he scratches the private parts or plays with testicles which some-times evade his grasp.

Mal-practices of female children are:—Widening the outer-lips of the vagina ; putting the fingers inside ; as the private part is not covered while she is playing some sand particles sometimes get in and produce an itching sensation ; similarly when she inserts the fingers in the vagina without washing it cleanly after the meals, it produces biting pain to relieve which water or oil has to be applied inside.

IInd period.—The child steps into boyhood with an increased curiosity to probe into the mysteries of sex. He begins first to importune his mother with a volley of questions but finds that the answers are unsatisfactory, vague or evasive. The attitude of elders to hold back sex-knowledge from the boy leads him to get his questions answered in round about ways. So he concentrates all his energies to see atleast what he sees or hears, can suggest to him the required answers. He begins to hear with more attention the sexual talks of his seniors ; when they go for bed, he over-hears them. He would oversee a woman while urinating or chase the dogs in the mating season with a view to know as to what they exactly do.

Pre-puberty intercourse.—Pre-puberty relations between boys and girls are not absent in rural areas. There have been instances of prepuberty intercourse in one or other of the following forms.

- (a) Intercourse between a minor boy and an adult female.
- (b) Intercourse between a minor girl and an adult male.
- (c) Intercourse between a minor wife and the adult husband.

These forms of intercourse are not very common and whenever they occur they are in the form of a rape by adult on a minor. The rape of women on boys occur when a passionate woman has not the opportunity or the courage to propose to an adult man. Sometimes a woman whose passions are roused up fails to meet the expected lover commits "rape" on the

boy she meets with. Two instances of this type of 'rape' are recorded and in one case the outraged sustained some injuries. Rapes of adult males on minor girls are also rare and occur under similar conditions and the victim invariably gets unpleasant experience.

Theoretically the husband has a right to the company of his wife at any time after Mamani or the bed ceremony which is performed among non-brahmins even when a girl is minor ; but custom interprets that the girl is to be sent to her husband's place only when she has attained puberty. Sometimes when the husband has no female members with him to do cooking he brings the wife and observation shows that the husband indulges in intercourse with his minor wife in such cases. Though a few cases have been reported, its extent seems to be more widespread than is usually supposed.

(ii) **From Adolescence to old-age.**—Adolescence is a crisis in the life of an individual. Its advent is marked by many physiological changes, some of which upset the boy when they make their first appearance ; particularly, when first ejaculation takes place in sleep preceded by an erotic dream, some boys get nervous with doubts and fears. In most of the cases the fear comes to be allayed when they are told by their senior friends that they had a similar experience. But some of the boys who are reserved and introspective, mistake the wet-dream for a disease peculiar to them and are also afraid of referring the matter to others through the fear that their drawback may be exposed. Though it is not possible to estimate the exact number of such persons, the proportion of their number is the highest in the classes where taboo on sex-talk is more rigorous.

In the case of girls it appears that they possess a pre-knowledge of the process of menstruation ; for, when they attend puberty ceremonies of their senior friends they try to know by hook or crook what puberty means.

But the most vital feature of adolescence is that, a period of sex activity begins with it. The youth experiences an irresistible sex urge within himself and feels no rest till he has eased himself of the pent-up sex-energy in some manner.

Forms of getting sex-satisfaction :—

(a) The manner of getting satisfaction is called natural when he obtains it by performing a sex act with a woman :— Again, the manner of natural satisfaction is called (1) Moral when the woman is his own wife. (2) Immoral, when she is not his wife.

(b) The manner of getting satisfaction is called unnatural when satisfaction is obtained without an intercourse with a member of the other sex.

(iii) Sex-satisfaction through moral ways :—

(A) **The first night** :—The first occasion when a man obtains sex-satisfaction through moral ways is the first night after marriage when he is permitted to sleep with his wife by the society. In the majority of men and women this is also the occasion when they get their first sex experience. But the manner in which the husband and the wife are allowed to come together for a sexual union on the first night is not the same in all the communities.

Among the Brahmins on some auspicious day after the girl has attained puberty, Shobhana or the bed ceremony is performed. On this day a feast is also arranged for the relatives of the couple. At night the couple are seated by some women on a bed arranged in a room reserved for them. Each is made to serve the other with a cup of milk and some plantains. Then they are made to sleep side by side and women withdraw in the outer room where Gondal or a narration of a mythological tale by a member of a caste known as Gondaligas is generally enacted the whole night.

The practice among all the non-brahmin castes is different. 'Mamani' or the bed-ceremony can be performed at any time after the marriage ceremony, even before the girl is mature. 'Mamani' consists in giving a sari to the girl attended with some ceremony which is usually performed during marriage just after the marriage ceremony but the presenting of the sari is postponed to a later date when a relative of the bride-groom goes to fetch the pubescent girl from her mother's house. After the mature girl has come to her husband's place, a date

for co-habitation is settled by the elders without the least knowledge of the girl. Nothing unusual is arranged on that day and the girl is made to sleep in a room without being informed that her husband would be sharing her bed that night. But the girl generally senses the situation and keeps herself alert to face what is to happen.

Inquiry shows that the rural youth is unaware of the existence of hymen in virgins which usually gives way at the time of first intercourse causing slight pain to the girl. The rural wife must be feeling this pain more intensely as the penetration by the husband is rash. Equally great must be her fear as the husband suddenly 'rides' on her. Sometimes she weeps, moans, and even screams. But the rural society considers these as a part of the wily nature of woman and also her way of manifesting modesty. The wife who does not weep is suspected to have had sexual enjoyment before. So even the woman who has a lover already and who is not in the least annoyed by the advances of her inconsiderate husband, makes the show of having felt the pain lest her conduct may be doubted. Some say that even the woman who has remarried another, after she had lived for sometime with one husband, pretends weeping when the new husband for the first time, embraces her for a sexual union.

Again the union is marked by a conspicuous absence of endearing talk as well as the foreplay on the erogenic zones of the woman. Many a time the husband becomes so passionate even before he enters the room that he cannot wait till he has roused in his wife the desire for a union; nor is he in a mood to engage himself in a love-talk; even if he means, he does not do it through the fear that women sleeping or waiting outside may over-hear the talk and use it as a capital for joking the next morning. In fact the couple is given no real privacy. So nothing but an intercourse is indulged in; not unusually it is performed three to four times on the first night unless the female partner is positively repulsive. There are excesses of sexual indulgence except when the foreskin of the husband's penis does not move back or makes intercourse painful to him. But it is rarely that the husband totally abstains himself. Whenever he does so or fails to work up an

orgasm in the wife he is generally mistaken for impotent. The following case is a typical illustration of it.

A person of 22 years married a girl of 9 years. He was well made and healthy. So he had maintained a mistress, as his wife was a minor. The wife was brought to her husband's place when she came of age. But as he was not pre-informed of the actual date of co-habitation, he had the intercourse with his mistress as usual. He had also got weary on account of the strenuous work in the fields. When he came home, to his surprise he was asked to sleep with his wife. He went in and found her snoring in pretence. So he deemed it the safest way to sleep without disturbing her. The wife who was no novice to sex-experience made some movements with her legs and was not successful. When he woke up the next morning he found that she had run away to her mother's, as she considered him impotent. Subsequently there was a divorce.

In short, in some cases, atleast, both the husband and the wife never feel that the first night of their sex-life was one of the happiest occasions of their life.

The period of sex-satisfaction through moral ways begun on the first night lasts till the sex-senility of the husband if it is not cut short by some extra-ordinary circumstances like death of the wife, impotency of the husband or divorce, which brings about a temporary or permanent separation of the married couple. Again, during the period of active marital life, occasions arise now and then when the husband and wife prefer to sleep apart or cannot sleep together. It can be roughly estimated that a man sleeps with his wife for about nine months in a year on an average.

Frequency of intercourse.—For a first few years after the bed ceremony, most of the married couples indulge in intercourse on most of the nights they sleep together. Persons who indulge at the rate of two times a day or more for a year or two form not less than 51 p. c. of the total number of wedded people living with their wives. Not more than 5 per-

1. Percentage given here and elsewhere in this chapter are only rough approximations.

cent can be found who indulge for less than twice a week in the beginning of their conjugal life. But after 3-4 years the frequency of intercourse decreases. The percentage of people who enjoy their wives on all days when they sleep with them for a period of 10 years is about 5%. Nearly 30% indulge in thrice a week ; 50% twice a week, 10% once a week ; and 5% once in a fortnight or more.

Periods of continence.—The following are the periods of continence :—(i) Period of menstrual flow. The Brahmin women observe this period as one of pollution. Though non-brahmin women do not consider likewise they bathe on the first day when the menstrual flow begins having applied oil to the whole body. In almost all cases, continence is observed for three days. (ii) When the wife goes to her mother's. This period extends from a few days to many months on an average in a year according to individual cases. (iii) When the husband is away on some business : Here also the period varies with individuals. (iv) During the harvest season, both the males and the females of the agricultural class have to over-work. The husband has to sleep for many days in the fields only, to keep a watch over the crops. So the couples find that they cannot sleep together for some days and even when they can they feel more comfort in sleeping apart. (v) When the husband is sick. (vi) When the wife is seriously ill :—It is to be noted here that a slight indisposition of the wife does not deter the husband from indulging in intercourse with her. (vii) When both go on a pilgrimage. (viii) During pregnancy of the wife :—It is impossible to find a husband who had remained continent during the whole period of pregnancy of his wife. It is fairly accurate to say that 70% of the husbands indulge in intercourse till the woman has not stepped in her seventh month of pregnancy. The number of people enjoying their wives to the last few days before delivery is not less than 3% and the considerate few who cease sexual relations with their wives before she completes five months do not form more than 10%. (ix) During confinement and after :—Most of the husbands resume intercourse after about 2 months from the day of delivery. Those who wait for three months and more do not form more than

10%. (x) During sad occasions like the death of a child or of a dear member of the family.

The problems before the married couples.—It is not usually that the wedded couples get complete conjugal happiness. Besides the innumerable obstacles that daily obstruct the smooth conduct of married life there are some situations which threaten the harmony of conjugal life and sometimes definitely mar the happiness of one or both of the couple. These are :—(a) When the husband is or becomes impotent. (b) When the husband is too weak to afford sex-gratification to his wife. (c) When a person has two wives. (d) When the wife dislikes intercourse with her husband.

(iv) **Sex-satisfaction through immoral ways.**

Extent of immorality :—The extent of immorality varies from place to place. Immorality is the greatest in villages from which mill-recruits are drawn. Here the economic independence of women and frequent contacts between the sexes both in the mill and on the way breed immorality.

It is also great in places where the leading people of the village like the local land-lord, the village officials, or the persons of 'high' family status set an example to others by their loose conduct.

The same is the fate of the village in which some debaucherous women of seductive beauty predominate. In one village there is a woman who boasts of having seduced nearly 150 youths of the same locality.

It is also comparatively great in villages where weekly bazars are held or where there are many prostitutes.

It also depends upon the proportion of certain castes to the total population. It is found that the Uppars and the Berads are highly passionate. Murders, quarrels and divorces are the greatest in the villages inhabited by these castes ; birth rate is also high among them.

There are many factors some of which are given below which are responsible for sexual immorality in villages. All these factors are jointly and severally responsible for sexual immorality. If one of these were lacking, probably the sex-life of the people would have been something different from what it is.

(a) **Voluptuous and seductive environment.**—That the rural environment is highly voluptuous and seductive can be known from the following account :—

Intercourse of parents :—Many a time the rural youth has to sleep in the same room with his parents who perform the sex-act without in the least minding the presence of their adult son. The sight and the sound of the sex-act, inflame his passions to such an extent that sometimes he resorts to masturbation to unload himself of the sex-urge.

Late-Weaning :—There is usually late weaning, the period of lactation sometimes covers 8 years, if no more children are born after the child. The sight of the 'child' pressing the breasts of his mother while it is being breast-fed, is highly exciting.

Exposure of breasts :—Women when they are the mothers of a child consider themselves as sufficiently elderly and do not mind if their breasts are uncovered. Again while engaged in the work like grinding of corn, winnowing of ears and washing of clothes women do not wear a bodice and sometimes not even the end of their sari covers the breasts, the rising and falling movement of which excites a voluptuous sensation in the on-looker.

Similar is the experience when women are seen answering the calls of nature in the open places in the absence of privies or any other trenching arrangement.

In summer, women sleep without a sheet to cover them in the open streets or in the verandas of their houses. So much weary do they become after the strenuous work in the fields that they fall asleep no sooner they lay themselves on the bed and do not become aware even if their breasts or their private parts get partly disclosed in the moonlight.

The nomadic rural population consisting mostly of beggars and itinerant artisans or pedlars, has to sleep in the open only. In the moon-light, some of the couples can be seen performing the sex-act covering themselves with a sheet made of small pieces of cloth stitched together. It is one of the hobbies of some rural youths to move about near them to oversee their coitus.

Not only what the rural youth sees is voluptuous, but also what he hears and talks. The topic of a buoyant talk among the youths is something that pertains to sex. Jokes are appreciated only when they have a sexual appeal. So if a new youth wants his talk to be appreciated by others, he must learn to use words, idioms and figures of speech which are vulgar.

The Holi Festival :—There are some Hindu festivals which materially help in provoking the sensual nature of the youth, the Holi festival in spring being one of them. Its celebration is notorious for licentious practices. Language abounding in vulgar words and expressions is used and permitted. The romantic and voluptuous songs which contain a graphic or suggestive description of sex organs, the method of coitus and pleasure derived therefrom are sung. The porno-graphic sketches of the vagina or the penis are sometimes stamped in colour on the dress of others. Most of the sex orgies prevail during this period and even a normal person becomes hyper-erotic under their influence.

Beggar Prostitutes :—Prostitution is not as wide-spread as debauchery for the simple reason that if a person cannot get satisfaction from his wife he can secure a mistress easily. So persons prefer to have a 'mistress' to visiting a prostitute, as the former one is cheaper, more 'honourable', and there are less chances of contracting a disease; again, as prostitutes in a village mostly belong to the untouchable class, religious sentiments act as a bar to prostitution. In fact, prostitute is the last resort of a disappointed lover or a timid but a passionate bachelor. But prostitutes most of whom go a-begging from door to door succeed in kindling the baser passions of youths by their flirtish manners and obscene songs.

Fairs :—Many young men and women come to the fair with an intention of meeting their lovers. The untouchable prostitutes from many of the neighbouring places are seen flaunting about with their philanderers. No sooner darkness begins to cover the sky than the lovers are seen together performing sex act, somewhere in the standing crops, behind a tree or in the depression of the ground. Others use a simple

covering or sheet over them to secure privacy. Thousands of youths gather here, some to meet their lovers, some to secure one and some simply to enjoy the sight. In such fairs, a novice easily falls a victim in the clutches of a prostitute or of a debauchee who has failed to meet her lover.

Markets :—Market is a place where many a prostitute flits about in search of customers. When she meets with one, she settles the rate and the two pair off.

Shrines :—Shrines are not free from sexual vices. Husband and wife remain continent during the period when they are on a pilgrimage. But this does not prevent either of them from meeting their old lovers. In fact many youths undertake the pilgrimage as it affords them an opportunity of getting united with their love without being suspected by others and many lovers trace the origin of their love-affair to their first meeting at a holy place.

On the hill at Savadatti where the temple of Goddess Yellamma is situated, nearly one thousand prostitutes come on the full-moon day of the month of Magh to pay their obeisance to the Goddess. This is also the best ground for them to advertise themselves before a gathering of nearly a lac strong. Coquetry, philandering and canvassing is very brisk though a few indulge in intercourse so long as they are on the hill, through religious sentiments. It is rarely that a raw youth who has no elders to supervise his conduct returns without being victimized by a prostitute or some other woman.

(b) The standard of morality cherished by individuals is very low :—The rural society has a very high standard of sex-morality. But this should not lead us to conclude that all rural people follow it strictly. The wide-spread extent of immorality clearly indicates that this adherence is more ostensible than real. True conformity of behaviour to a high standard of morality can exist only in societies in which individuals also cherish a standard which is equally lofty. But the cultivation of ideals and principles which are essential for nourishing a high standard of morality in a person requires early education, prolonged training and a sedative environment — these are

the very things that a rural man lacks. On the other hand, in his case heavy physical exertion inhibits the finer forms of mental activity which are necessary for inducing ideals in a person. Due to the same reasons his will-power also remains too weak to control or regulate his passions when they get excited.

The rural man simply makes a show of following the social standard of morality, as he is afraid of ostracism or obloquy that comes to be directed against the non-conformist. But individually, he is not particular about his moral laxity. Free and illicit intercourse is indulged in where the vigilant eye of the society cannot penetrate.

To state the fact, this is the individual standard of morality which permits of sex intercourse whenever it is, expedient—that is, when the other member has no objection and when there is no third person to notice them together or hear the cry of the woman if he uses force to overpower her.

Thus there exists in the rural society a double standard, the one being the social standard which is lofty and forbids sexual relation with anybody except with the wedded partner; the other is the individual standard which is antithesis of the first one.

The present society is rent between these conflicting standards and actually follows a standard which is one of pretending high morality, and practising immorality or debauchery. The 'perverted' sex psychology of villagers of which more will be said later on, is a resulting product of this clash between these two standard's.

(c) Back-ground to sex-immorality among women :— According to the traditional notions of rural society wife should remain in the social bondage of her husband. But in practice she enjoys considerable freedom of talk and movement. Women in rural societies talk freely with men and even cut jokes with them. They can also accost strangers on the road. Again rural women possess economic independence to a large extent. The wives of the labourers are almost independent economically. Among other classes, women always go for casual labour during the harvest time; they also usually

maintain a she-buffalo which yields an income in the form of butter sufficient to defray miscellaneous expenses of the family. Rural women have the self-confidence that they can maintain themselves. This economic independence has made them bold and courageous to defy their sexual dependence of husbands. When the husband is impotent or too weak they go to the extent of asserting their right to love another. At any rate the number of henpecked husbands is not a small one.

It also appears that the rural woman is made of a harder stuff. Abuses of the husband, they take sportively; even kicks and slaps cannot frighten them into moral ways. Scandals can strike terror in them but they cannot keep them on the moral path.

Lastly she knows that marriage is not indissoluble. So when she does not like her husband or when the latter ill-treats her she would run to her father's and insist on a divorce or she would find out a lover who undertakes the responsibility of obtaining her divorce.

(d) **Scope for love-making** :—In the rural society there is considerable scope for love-making. Every one is on friendly relations with many members of the opposite sex who live in close association or come in frequent contact with him. Because of the liberty of speech enjoyed by the females, members of the opposite sex who are acquainted with each other can chat or joke freely. This intimacy that one enjoys with members of the opposite sex opens out to him ample room for love making. Below is given a list of women with whom usually every man in the village is on intimate terms so much so that he can under suitable conditions make sexual advances to some one of them.

A man comes in frequent contact with :— (i) all the female relatives of his neighbour. (ii) wife of a person who owns a field neighbouring to one's own (iii) the wife of a friend whose house he frequents, (iv) the woman who is engaged in the same trade as that of the person, (v) the woman who comes to his house to sell milk, butter or vegetables. (vi) the woman whom he accompanies to the market on bazar days, (vii) the mother or wife of a labourer

whom he frequents to ask him to come to work at him, (viii) the woman whom he engages as a maid servant or a field labourer. (ix) a female labourer with whom he goes for work at the same place. (x) the wife of his employee if he works at the residence of his employer.

(e) **Scope for the lovers to meet for performing the sex act :—** Equally great is the scope for the lovers to meet for a sex act. After sun-set during the dark half of the month for some time atleast during the night, darkness reigns supreme providing suitable time for the lovers to come together unnoticed by a third person at any place outside the village premises. Besides there are other innumerable places like the house of a friend, standing crops, depressions in the ground, shadow of thickets, the Dharmashalas and the like which afford equally safe privacy. Still if the lovers find inconvenience in meeting in their own village they can decide upon seeing each other on a way leading to the market or at some fair or shrine. In short there is considerable scope for the lovers to meet each other unnoticed by the scandal-mongers.

(f) **The rural people are poly-erotic :—** There are many married men and women who contract immoral relations with another though they are completely satisfied with their married partner. Now the question arises, "Why should a man desire the sexual company of another though he has nothing to complain about his wife?" It seems that this behaviour may be the outcome of the poly-erotic nature of the rural man which craves for a 'change'. The rural environment is responsible for activating poly-erotic nature of the rural man. As pointed out, men and women live in close association or come in frequent contact. These contacts gradually engender mutual attraction between the acquaintances of the opposite sex, and unconsciously one feels yearning for the company of the other and when a suitable occasion presents itself one of the two takes the initiative which usually meets with a favourable response. A large percentage of acts of debauchery are of this kind of innocent friendships gradually developing into love-affairs.

The factors that account for the prevalence of sex-immorality:—As pointed out already, the sex-impulse of a youth in his teens is liable to provocation at the slightest sexual suggestion.

With such a susceptible sex-impulse he has to live in a rural environment which is highly voluptuous and seductive.

The will-power of the rural youth is not so much developed as to restrain the sex-impulse when the environment stimulates it.

Such an excited youth, sometimes finds that the moral ways of sex-satisfaction are totally lacking or are incapable of yielding full satisfaction.

Under such circumstances he is forced to seek satisfaction in ways that are not moral.

Again, it appears that the rural youth is to a certain extent poly-erotic; so even when he has full satisfaction through moral ways, he still seeks a mistress only 'for a change'.

The considerable scope for love-making that he finds in the rural society helps him in his efforts.

So it is not long before he meets with a woman who is also in search of a lover; if a woman who infatuates him does not need a lover, he would try to seduce her.

He cherishes no lofty standard of morality personally, that can dissuade him from seducing a wife of another.

Lastly, he succeeds in getting carnal satisfaction through immoral ways as there is scope for him to meet his mistress.

(iv) (b) **Specific causes for the adultery of women:**—The woman may commit adultery:—

(A) When she is living with her parents.

(B) When she is living with her husband.

(a) Why does a woman commit adultery when she is living with her father? ;—

The husband for various reasons given elsewhere does not take away his wife from her parents for leading a conjugal life. In such circumstances, she cannot get her amatory desires satisfied through moral ways; so she is forced to seek satisfaction through socially forbidden channels. This she may

do in two ways. She may take the initiative in seducing a youth or she may allow herself to be seduced by some lover who might even use force to initiate her to sex experience. But she may not complain and instead may welcome the person who had spoiled her chastity, because she gets pleasure in uniting herself sexually with him.

In some cases parents induce or even force her to seduce a particular person or submit to intercourse with him, if they are likely to get some money from him.

(B) Why does the woman commit adultery when she is living with her husband ?

(a) The wife seeks a lover when her husband cannot satisfy her passions which happens when (i) The husband is impotent, (ii) is weak, (iii) is sick, (iv) has two wives or a mistress, (v) is old, (vi) is too temperate, (vii) or when he frequently sleeps elsewhere.

(b) or when she is poly-erotic or suffering from a disease which intensifies her passions.

In such cases she usually takes the initiative in seducing a youth or readily consents when some lover proposes to her.

(c) Even when she is satisfied with the sexual power of her husband, situations frequently arise which force her to submit to intercourse with another, inspite of her unwillingness. The most common instance is that of a father-in-law enjoying his own daughter-in-law by force who dares not utter a word against him to anybody partly through bashfulness and partly through fear that she may be driven out by him as he happens to be the patriarch of the family .

(d) Again, sometimes it so happens that when she is alone, a voluptuary may pounce upon and rape her. Such outrages are not uncommon in villages.

These outrages though perpetrated without the consent of the woman or even against her will, leave behind a suductive influence on her. Such outraged women sometimes find that there is more pleasure in extra-marital intercourse, and are tempted to have more of such connections and in course of time they become notorious.

(e) Moral wrecks who are in fact the active members of the rural society take full advantage of a woman's helplessness, to seduce her or outrage her modesty, particularly when she is a widow or a divorcee without the support of any body or one whose husband is usually absent from home.

(f) Adultery is also committed for the sake of getting money. When the husband is poor and children are many, the woman falls upon adultery as the last resource of earning something. This is a form of prostitution with the difference that the woman has a husband.

(g) The ugliness or slovenly manners of the husband forms in a few cases the cause for committing adultery. The wife of an ugly person when she cultivates familiarity with a person with good looks, feels an attraction for him and rarely misses the opportunity of becoming his mistress.

(h) Some examples also exist of barren women contracting illicit connections only to get a child, so that their husbands may not divorce them or go in for a second marriage.

Specific causes for the debauchery of males.—The causes for the debauchery of males are more or less similar to those of females. A male seeks a mistress usually when he cannot get satisfaction through moral ways either because (i) he is unmarried, (ii) his wife is still a minor, (iii) or the wife cannot be brought home through poverty. Again, even when he has a wife in his house, he may feel himself sexually allured towards another woman who is acquainted with him and become her lover in due course. Some maintain a mistress to show that they are more virile and well-built. Lastly as pointed out, rural environment is very seductive; so at any time the youth may be caught in the meshes of love by a charming girl or an adulteress.

(v) **The manner of seducing:**—In the last section the general and the specific causes that actuate a man or a woman to practise debauchery are detailed. But the actual act of debauchery which consists in sexual intercourse cannot take place unless the initiative is taken by some one of the two—either by the male or the female. In the first case, male is the seducer and the female an object of seducement; in the latter

case the roles are exactly the reverse. But between initiative and intercourse or between wishing the company of a member of the other sex and getting it there is an intervening period remarkable for some form of attempt on the part of the seducer directed towards the desired end. In other words, every act of debauchery is preceded by some efforts of the person who first falls in love, and which are more or less systematic and cover a period varying from a few minutes to many years according to individual cases. These efforts which consist of courting, wooing, and proposing in various ways and with various means constitute what may be roughly called the art of love-making or seducing. Again, the art of love-making employed by a female is not the same as the one employed by a male.

Art of love-making practised by the female :— The art of love-making practised by a female is simple. She is simply to make a suggestion through amorous gestures of her limbs or through jokes, and the response is unfailing. If the woman is a bit shy, she employs a go-between who communicates to the person concerned her desire and it is rarely that a refusal is received. The following typical cases are useful illustrations of the manner in which a female seduces a male. They are described in the words of the seduced.

(i) "Then I was 22 years old. I had a strong physique and a good bearing. I was happy with my new wife. One day Mrs. X, a rich widow of 24 of the same village, came to my banana garden and purchased some on a promise to pay the amount later on. Every time I went to her to get my dues she requested me to come the next morning. I got hot with her one morning for her dilatory tactics. Then she asked me to see her that night. Accordingly I went there. She was waiting for me on a specially prepared bed and immediately paid more than was due. When I was about to leave the door, she called me and with a smile suggested to me that I may make myself comfortable on the bed—a request that I gladly complied with."

(ii) "I was working as a day labourer in the field of Mr. X. Then I was a young man of robust health. Mrs. X, the wife of my employer used to flatter me for possessing a

covetable physique. At noon, one day, I was taking my dinner under the shade of a tree in the fields. Mrs. X came and sat beside me. I moved a little aside to show my respects. But in a patronizing tone she asked me not to worry myself about her presence. Then she patted me on my back saying, 'Oh, how I like you', 'You are such a good fellow'. Her hands moved slowly down to my penis and created such an excitable sensation that I could not control myself."

(iii) "I was a good wrestler of hardly 21 years. I had postponed the consummation of marriage so that I might practise wrestling for a few years more and establish some reputation. A young woman of 26 was staying in the same lane. I always liked to talk to her as she was an admirer of my well-built body. One night when I was strolling about after supper she called out to me to come in. She was alone inside as her husband had gone to a relative of his. As usual, we chatted and when I got up to go home, she requested me to sleep there only, as she felt herself lonely. I understood what she meant but hesitated as I had not the sex-experience. Any way, I told her that I would go home and made my way towards the door. But she held me frantically by dhoti and threatened to shout out that she was being outraged if I did not conjoin myself with her. I was helpless and allowed myself to be seduced."

Art of love-making practised by males :— The manner in which males are to seduce a female varies with the nature of the lovers who may be grouped into three types :— (i) The usual type, (ii) The professional type, (iii) the inexperienced and timid type.

(i) The usual type :— As pointed out, a person who is on friendly relations with a woman feels an attraction towards her and finally becomes her lover. The friend-lover is the usual type that we meet with in villages.

(ii) The professional type :—The professional lover is a profligate who tries to seduce all beautiful girls that attract his notice and is incapable of loving one woman permanently. He is a bold and a courageous person having the guts to face any dangerous situation. He is generally good-looking at least.

not ugly. He is brilliantly dressed. His verility is pronounced. As a speaker, he is fluent, humorous and impressive. He is an adept in the art of grading jokes in such a way as to sound the inclination of the woman without offending her modesty. His is an ingenious brain that can devise the time and place of his meeting with the woman for performing an intercourse without being suspected by anybody. He is usually a member or the leader of a gang of youths that helps its members to procure the desired woman and guard him against any aggressive behaviour of the woman's husband or any other person interested in her.

(iii) The inexperienced and timid type :—On the other hand the inexperienced lover is a timid fellow unlettered in the art of love-making. He has not the courage to propose to the woman he loves nor has he the audacity to enjoy her by force. He is diffident that the woman may spurn his offer. He is more constant in love and at the same time very sensitive to public criticism. Very often he has to pine away in life.

Out of these three types it is the professional lover who makes a continuous and a systematic attempt which he would not cease till he has succeeded or received a definite refusal in which case he would avenge himself on her by trying to involve her in some scandal.

In the following pages a full account of the manner in which a professional lover seduces a woman who has attracted him and that of the various means he employs is given :—

The manner of seducing :—The first step to be taken by the lover towards the success of winning the love of a woman with whom he is not acquainted is in the direction of making an acquaintance with her. This can be effected directly or indirectly. It is not possible to form a direct acquaintance with her at her own residence and sometimes not even in the same locality. But he can accost her while she is going to or coming from a market. He may begin with an inquiry as regards the distance of a particular village or the prices of butter and other articles. Then he may proceed to put to her

some formal questions. This much talk suffices to establish an acquaintance with her. The indirect method consists in getting one-self introduced first to her husband or to her father if she is staying with him. This is done by offering a tobacco pipe to the person oneself or partaking of it with him. In the rural society as the elders are to be addressed by some term denoting a relationship, the lover would choose to call her father¹, chigappa or uncle, so that according to the system of relationships he becomes his paternal cousin. If the new acquaintance is her husband he would call her 'mava' or maternal uncle and then she becomes his sister and also wife's mother according to relationships under maternal-uncle niece form of marriage which is popular in Karnatak. Social regulations permit of free talk between a person and his 'mava'. This helps the lover to develop familiar relations with her husband. He can also cut jokes or chat freely with the woman as he is her 'brother'. Thus he obtains a licence to talk with her. His next move is to increase the contacts and establish intimacy with her.

He would frequent her house on some pretext or the other. He would enjoy a pipe with her husband or amuse the child if she has one. He would request her for some water, a lint of cotton or a cinder for the pipe. He would accompany her to the market or volunteer his services to sell her butter or bring things to her from the bazar. Now and then he would also indulge in innocent jokes with the lady.

The third stage is one of active courting. His attempts are now directed to impress upon the woman that he is more intelligent, wealthy, liberal and stronger than her husband. He would use wits that can be appreciated by her; he would work in a stylish fashion to attract her notice and admiration. Presents of sweets, articles or dress would be made to her. He

1. But there is no unrestricted freedom to the individual to choose this term of address. Usually the person has to use a term according to the social relationship he bears towards a person in keeping with his place in social relationships. If the father of the lover calls the father of the woman 'uncle' the lover has to call the latter, 'grandfather' inspite of his unwillingness.

would also invite her at his expense to a fair or on a pilgrimage. Now and then he would use words and expressions intended to flatter the vanity of the woman.

He would also use vulgar jokes just to see how she re-acts to them. He may also seek the assistance of a sorcerer or a quack shaman who usually asks the lover to do one of the following things:—(i) To wear an amulet given by him. (ii) To blow towards the woman the holy ashes given by him. (iii) To keep on rubbing a strap while repeating a formula told by him. (iv) To tie a 'thing' given by him to the end of her sari. (v) To spit on the place where the woman urinates. (vi) To keep the dust under her feet on one's head.

The lover may pray to God to help him in his endeavours. In that case he would visit the temple once or twice a day to repeat the request; he may even promise some offerings to God if he would bless him with success.

The last stage is one of expressing to her his desire to have an intercourse with her. It is rarely that a straight request is forwarded to her. The manner of sounding it is usually suggestive and on the following lines.

(i) Shall I come to sleep in your house this night? (ii) Shall I wait for you alone in the fields? (iii) Shall I come to you for supper? (iv) Will you call me when the husband is away? (v) Will you prepare the bed for us now? (vi) Shall I see you in the market? (vii) Shall we take rest for a while? (viii) I shall bring a sari for you. What would you offer me in return?

What does the woman do when the lover requests her company for sex gratification :—

(a) In most of the cases she agrees unconditionally. The lover unless he is quite confident that his request would meet with a favourable response, does not forward it to her.

(b) She may agree subject to conditions like the following:—
(1) That he should pay her a stipulated sum. (2) That she should be given sweet-meats, clothes, or corn. (3) That he should be prepared to elope with her and ultimately marry her. (4) That he should leave his wife if he has one. (5) That

he should obtain her divorce from her husband in case their affair comes to light. (6) That he should constrain other lovers of hers, if she had some, from inflicting any harm on her.

(c) She may demand time for consideration and postpone the reply—such cases are very rare.

(d) She may point out the difficulties in the way of her acceptance, the removal of which may be demanded as a condition precedent.

(e) She may dismiss the request with a piece of advice to the young man—such cases are also rare.

(f) She may decline with some abuses to the person.

(g) She may refuse bluntly and may complain to her husband or her parents that such and such a person wanted to outrage her modesty. She may even instigate them to wreck a revenge as it involves a question of honour. When such a thing happens, it forebodes disastrous repercussions.

Places where lovers can meet:—If the woman consents the two will together decide the time and place of their meeting. (1) When the family of woman consists of husband and wife only, the place chosen is usually her house and the time is one when the husband has gone out for work or to another village. (2) If the woman comes from a joint family the house of a third man where she is permitted to go is fixed up by bribing the owner of the house. (3) If the woman belongs to the joint family and is allowed to go to the fields alone, a place in the standing crops comes to be used. (4) If the man and the woman own neighbouring fields, the former usually builds a hut, if he has not one already in his farm for the purpose.

VI. The problems before the lovers and how they solve them.

(a) **Problem of meeting the lover:**—Sometimes the husband begins to suspect the behaviour of his wife. But his vigilance is not always successful in preventing his wife from meeting her lover when she is bent on doing so. For, a woman enjoys some unique occasions when it is considered indecent for the husband to accompany her and the woman utilizes these for meeting her lover in the following ways:—(i) Women usually

go to answer the second call of nature at night. Darkness helps her to go to her lover on the pretext of going for answering the calls of nature. (ii) Women go alone for bringing water, the source of which is usually outside the village proper. On the way she may enter the house of her 'friend' where she can ask the lover to be present. (iii) She has to go to the market once in a few weeks at least. This also gives her a fine opportunity.

(b) Problem of pregnancy:—Pregnancy is an irrefutable proof of woman's indulgence in sexual intercourse. When a married woman living with her husband gets pregnant society considers him as the agent of pregnancy even though she might have been pregnant through illicit intercourse. So pregnancy when it happens in the house of the husband does not usually embarrass the lovers unless he declares himself impotent. Such cases are exceptional and occur only when the husband has a special grudge against his wife. Only one case is recorded.

But the pregnancy of a woman who is a widow or one not staying with her husband is an undeniable proof of her adultery. A child born of such a woman is considered by the society as illegitimate and is not allowed to be the member of that caste. The mother too becomes an object of social censure and in certain communities she forfeits the membership of her caste. Therefore the problem before the lovers is to devise ways and means which are given below to legitimatise the pregnancy or to prevent an illegitimate child from being born.

(1) When the woman has a husband and if she gets pregnant at her father's place the usual way is to send her to husband to stay with him and then to attribute to him the responsibility of her pregnancy. But this is possible when the married couple are on good relations and the signs of pregnancy are not yet visible on her countenance or in her behaviour. (2) To bribe the husband to acknowledge the responsibility for her pregnancy. This is possible when the husband is poor, greedy and not very sensitive to public whispers. (3) The lover if he is sincere and rich enough obtains her divorce from her husband and marries her. (4) The parents obtain the divorce

and marry her to somebody else who is invariably a man of loose character or a poor man who cannot afford to get a wife. (5) Sometimes she is sent to a distant place till she gives birth to a child which is then killed. (6) The most prevalent method is the practice of abortion.

The method used in effecting abortion can be called the 'stick-method.' Professional women who practise this, charge an amount varying from a few rupees to some hundreds, according to the social and economic status of the woman; the average is about five rupees. On particular days after pregnancy, which are known to them only, they insert a small stick whose length is adjusted to the width of the crevice in the womb in such a way that the umbilical cord gets rotted and loses its connection with the foetus which is consequently thrown out. It is told that this method is absolutely harmless if due precautions as regards cleanliness are taken. The author has seen women in good health though they were the subjects of two or three abortions. But there is always the risk of septic troubles if hygienic rules are not followed or the diet is not regulated.

It is told that some take medicine which, it appears contains some impure chemical elements.

A case is recorded in which abortion was brought about by beating on the abdomen till it resulted in mis-carriage.

If the married woman is a widow, ways No. 1 and 2 are not possible for her.

(c) **Problem of escape** :—Fear of pregnancy is one concerning the future. But in the immediate present the lovers always stand the risk of being surprised by the husband while they are engaged in intercourse. In spite of the greatest precautions taken in advance by the lovers, sometimes they are taken unawares. Though escape is not an easy one, still the lovers rise to the occasion and in many cases effect an adventurous escape. Three such adventures of lovers are given below in their own words :—(i) I was living in the extension of a temple which was bounded by walls on the other

three sides. I was then 22 and was alone. It was settled through a go-between that the woman I desired was to meet me at my residence at 8 p. m. and that I should pay her annas eight. Accordingly she came. But the movements of the go-between created suspicion in some of her other lovers and relatives, who in order to catch her red-handed sat waiting for her to come out, on a veranda just in front of my residence. When I saw them, I got nervous—there was no way out, I thought. But the go-between was shrewd enough. She informed the situation to a friend of mine, who approached us by the back door, jumping over the wall. He whispered to her to follow him. When they reached the wall at the other end, he lifted her up and threw her down the other side. Of course she sustained some injuries. I lighted the lantern and came out alone to the disappointment of the people waiting. (ii) I was 36 years old and had love-connections with the wife of a priest, three years junior to me. Her husband had suspicions about us but he had not been able to catch us when we were together. One evening he started to a village $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles off as he received an intimation that his sister was in child-labour. Anyhow he was not expected to return that night. Therefore I was invited for sleeping. But the husband returned as she had delivered before he reached there. He tapped the door. I was fast asleep. To awake me she bit my hand mildly. But I awoke with a loud yawn which made him suspect my presence inside. He banged the door this time. She pretended that she was searching for a match-box and then came to the door in the dark abusing the match-box which cannot be found when exactly it is needed. She asked me to take a position just behind her and slowly opened the door. He sprang to the room to catch me there but I slipped out in the dark without being noticed by him. (iii) I was having regular intercourse with the wife of a trader of 22 without being suspected by her husband. One evening I was in the kitchen room enjoying myself on the dishes given by the lady. The husband came home unexpectedly as he wanted some money. I got terrified when he asked his wife to open the door. But she rose to the occasion—promptly opened the door with a water pot in her hand and

requested him to accompany her to the field as she was afraid of going alone in the dark that day. The husband believed and followed her and I made my safe escape.

(d) **Problem when caught red-handed** :—But sometimes escape is impossible. The re-action of the husband when he sees his own wife engaged in intercourse with another man, depends upon his personal temperament and may take one or more of the following forms :—(i) If he is shrewd and greedy he would lock them in till elders come and force the lover to pay the fine or obtain divorce. (ii) But most of the husbands lose temper and begin beating their wives. The form of beating may vary from mere thrashing to inflicting of mortal wounds. (iii) The husband may divorce her without a word. (iv) He may make her naked and parade her in the streets as an adulteress—only two such cases are recorded. (v) May abuse her and drag her before the elders who are requested to pronounce their verdict on her conduct. (vi) May keep quiet—this happens when the husband is poor, timid or hen-pecked. (vii) In a fit of anger he may murder her.

As regards the lover, unless locked in, he makes an escape. If the husband or his party is strong he is given good kicks and slaps. Then he may be made to pay a fine or pay for the divorce. But if the lover makes an escape when the husband is busy in beating his wife, or at any other time, revenge is contemplated.

VII. Sexual-Revenge :—The problem of revenge for sexual offences is the direct outcome of many mistaken notions of the rural people. (i) Wife is considered a kind of property of the husband. According to this belief, an adulteress or an out-raged woman is spoilt or damaged property and the lover who is responsible for this, must pay due compensation or suffer the punishment. (ii) Again the rural society considers that a woman who commits adultery brings dis-honour to her husband and the whole family. Thus the honour of the family is associated with the chastity of its female member. A lover therefore is a person who has lowered the honour of the

family and as such he cannot go unpunished. If the woman was also a willing party to the illicit union, she is also to be punished; for, her adultery is nothing less than a conspiracy to overthrow or demean the family honour. (iii) As hinted already the rural man is not particular about his own dissolute life; on the other hand, he insists and preaches that others should follow the lofty standard of morality to which he pretends mere adherence. Again, he considers himself, as a member of the society, charged with the responsibility of enforcing the moral laws and therefore would go the extent of punishing an immoral person. The case is like that of a thief sitting in judgment on another thief and sentencing him rigorously for his crime. An act of revenge given below is a typical illustration:—

Mr. X is a priest of about 23 years. One day he solicited of Mrs. Y, her company for an intercourse when she was reaping grass by river-side. But she declined for reasons best known to her. Then he wanted to try some force and attempted to press her breasts. But as she pointed her scythe towards him, he took to his heels out of fear. Mrs. Y came home and narrated the incident to some of the members of her paternal stock and exhorted them to punish the offender who wanted to spoil her honour. The fellows got wild and with sticks in their hands went to the house of Mr. X who had absconded by that time. They could not find out Mr. X, so they beat his father and the elder brother for the offence of Mr. X.

It is to be noted here, that Mrs. Y is a woman who was deserted by her husband for her loose character. Again all the six persons who took part in assaulting the poor father of the offender are debauchees each of whom has been responsible for the seduction of some married woman. Still when Mrs. Y informed them of the attempted outrage on her modesty they got wild with anger which calmed down only when they had inflicted some injuries on the father and the brother of the offender.

Thus we see that the practice of revenge is directed by the psychology of the villagers which considers woman the property of her husband, associates honour with chastity and considers it the duty of every person to punish everybody excepting the self, who does not conform his behaviour to the social standard of morality.

Revenge, in other words, is a punishment for many offences:—(i) for over-riding the property of others, (ii) for undermining the honour of the family, (iii) for dis-obeying the moral laws of the society.

The person who avenges is usually the husband of the woman. He is assisted by other members of his family and sometimes by the whole sect. Even the whole village may rally round the husband to help him, if the lover belongs to another village and the members consider that the 'honour' of the whole village is at stake. At any rate, it seems that the jealousy of unsatisfied sexual desire which one feels towards another who had the sexual satisfaction is also an important psychological force which instigates other members to take an active part in the reprisal.

In theory each case of adultery or one of sex-outrage ought to have been followed by an act of revenge. Paradoxically it is not so. Many a man and woman practise debauchery openly; there is not even the talk of revenge in many cases. Revenge is contemplated only under the following circumstances:—(i) When the husband is sensitive to his sense of honour or is highly inflammable. Such husbands even murder their wives and their lovers when they see them performing the sex-act; such husbands are few. (ii) When the husband is promised help by other people and is asked to take the initiative. (iii) When the husband or any member of his party has any grudge against the offender or his near relative. (iv) When the husband can afford to risk the consequences of revenge. (v) When the husband who had been tolerant all along, is suddenly provoked by taunts of mischievous people.

The object of revenge :—The object of revenge is not always the person who has offended. Any member belonging to the paternal family of the offender can be made an object of revenge. When persons are not accessible, any possession of the offender may be damaged or destroyed.

The form of revenge :—Revenge is in the form of a 'tooth for a tooth' or 'nail for a nail'—that is, if the offence is one of an outrage on a married woman, the wife of the offender is to be outraged in a similar manner. If this wife is not available, then, any female belonging to the family of the offender is substituted for the wife. Revenge takes the form of beating the male members of the offender's family when no female relative of his is within reach. As the offender's family is considered an enemy, everything that belongs to any member of it deserves to be destroyed. Thus revenge assumes the form of burning the houses, killing the cattle, destroying the crops, and damaging many other things owned by the members of the outrager's family.

(viii) Sex satisfaction through un-natural ways :— The un-natural ways through which sex-satisfaction is obtained usually, are (a) masturbation, (b) homo-sexuality, (c) bestiality.

(a) Masturbation :— Masturbation is practised by the rural youths. There are few individuals who have not indulged in masturbation even once in their life. But it is rarely indulged in regularly; in other words, there are not many people who may be called masturbators. Most of the people are driven to this form of indulgence only in some excited moments in their life, when a woman is not available instantly. It does not appear that masturbation has in any way exercised deleterious effect on rural health. Cases are rare in which masturbation was the sole cause for the impairment of the health of a person.

(b) Homo-sexuality :— Homo-sexuality is not very widespread in the rural areas. It prevails among males only—as far

as the author knows—in the form of anus-intercourse. Even among the persons who practise homo-sexuality there are very few who can be called innate or genuine homo-sexuals. Almost all of them have wives and children which shows that they are also hetro-sexual. Again most of these homo-sexuals practise sodomy on occasions only, when a woman is not available for intercourse. For the same reason the number of persons playing an active part is very great and there are very few people who really rejoice in playing a passive role. The active homo-sexual can use force on the weaker persons to play a passive role for them. But the difficulty confronts the passive homo-sexuals as few people like to be their lovers when they feel the necessity.

(c) **Bestiality** :—Bestiality is practised by persons who are denied the natural means of sex-gratification. It is common among the poorer classes who can neither buy a girl in marriage nor allure a mistress. Thus they are driven to choose dumb animals in nature to act as their consorts.

(ix) **General observation on the sex life** :—(i) With the rural person, sex impulse ranks high second only to hunger. Usually it forms the content of his thought in leisure hours, a topic for a chat, and, not infrequently, a cause of a quarrel. Sex urge is considered natural, spontaneous, and uncontrollable and its satisfaction a necessary concomitant of it no sooner it makes itself felt. Moral code prescribes that sex satisfaction can be obtained from the married partner only. To give effect, to this, social custom recommends marriage only in the teens. However, many find that the socially approved channel of satisfaction is inadequate and so seek sex-gratification in immoral ways. The percentage of debaucherous persons in the villages is larger than what is generally supposed. Innumerable instances given above prove that the adherence of the rural people to the moral code is more seeming than real. The traditional belief that all rural people particularly women are morally chaste is not warranted by facts. (ii) It should not be supposed that the sex-life of the rural people is unhappy on the whole. The number of sexually 'starved' people is

negligible. Everybody obtains natural sex-satisfaction in some way or the other and the period of unhappiness that many have to suffer is only of a temporary nature. Even scandals cannot make a person unhappy for life, because the sensitiveness of the rural people to scandals has no enduring character. (iii) Love as it is conceived by the urban man is not known to the villager. The disappointed lover who predominates the literature of today cannot find sympathy in the villages. Platonic love has no room there. Similarly the pale, out-worn and insipid face of a spinster cannot be met with on the rural side. The cases of sexual malpractices and perversions which are universal in the city if statistics given by Hirshfield Magnus and Haire Norman can be relied upon are comparatively few in the village. (iv) Rural women are not so coy in sexual matters as tradition conveys. Many instances are given to show that they are capable of taking even initiative in sexual matters.

CHAPTER XII

The Rural Education

Primary-Education :—The term education is almost exclusively used in rural areas with reference to school-education. According to rural people an educated person is one who had schooling and who has passed some school or University examination. Again, a person is not considered fully educated unless he learns English language. An educated man is supposed to know not only his own subjects but also all other things pertaining to this life and Nature. They cannot distinguish one branch of knowledge from another. Even the difference between Science and Arts they cannot understand. They simply feel that the English language is something which is very difficult to learn and one who succeeds in speaking English, is considered intelligent and educated. Some 10-15 years back, high respect was paid to the English knowing persons, because in those days, one who knew English could obtain a service in Government. Some of the parents with an ambition that their sons also, should become officers, educated them at huge expense and sometimes even incurring debts. But they were entirely disappointed. By the time their sons had completed education unemployment set in on an extensive scale. The life of these educated sons has become tragic as they have spent what they had in education, and they cannot get a job nor can they follow the occupation of their forefathers. On the other hand the school or the college life has induced a higher standard of life in them which they cannot maintain. With no future before them they are either pining away their life or have become the mischief mongers of the village. They have no constructive or paying work to do ; so they pass their time in breeding quarrels, in spreading rumours and in popularising love-affairs. They instigate people to quarrel, volunteer themselves as panchas and act as touts between the villagers and pleaders. They collect youngsters to play cards, arrange tea at their expense, and enjoy a smoke. They lead the

fashions in dress and deride at others who spend less on clothes. They habituate others to tea-drinking and tobacco smoking. They sit in a company in a public place like the chavdi, the verandah of a temple or the katta or platform of a local banyan tree inviting others to join them and ridiculing the more sober and industrious or joking at girls that pass by. When outsiders come to the village they pass off for leaders and acquire for themselves the monopoly of representing the village. They form a party of their own and try to enhance their own importance by creating party factions in the village. In their attempt to strengthen their party, they do not hesitate to flare up communalism. There are always a few educated unemployed persons of this type in a village. Their presence and activities have induced a belief among the rural people that education spoils the child, involves unnecessary expenditure and brings in unemployment. This belief constitutes the background of the attitude of the rural people towards education. The view of the school-master that education is for the sake of education or knowledge does not find favour with the villager who finds the struggle for existence very keen. The view that object of education is to build up character and cultivate morality, as expounded by moralists does not appeal to him. The ideal of a nationalist in educating children with a view to make good citizen of them does not impress him because, the political consciousness is still to be developed in him. His view is essentially practical and materialistic. His straight question is whether the school education can enable his boy to add a few more rupees to the family income than what he is earning without it. He compares the utility of the time spent by his boy in the school with that in tending a goat, a cow or a she-buffalow. He finds that in the former case he has to incur some expenditure on books, slate etc. and in the latter, the boy contributes to the family income. So he chooses the latter vocation for his boy and the school goes without him. On account of this, the schools in the village have hardly 20 p. c. of the boys of the school-going age on their roll. A sincere and painstaking teacher can raise it to 20-30 p. c. Even if he succeeds in increasing the number on roll, he finds it not so easy to maintain the attendance. As

stated already, the parents are indifferent and even averse to their boys' education. The boys themselves are not less indifferent. They do not know why they are going to school. They have no ideal of higher education which can keep up their enthusiasm for study. What is more, they dislike the regularity, monotony and discipline of the school. Accustomed as they are to a life of rambling and roaming they find it a hardship to go to school in time and sit there continuously for three hours. The boys themselves are very keen to catch up at the first opportunity of absenting themselves or leaving the school. As the boy is more useful at home, the parents assign him some light work or the other and the boy remains at home to do that work. The number of boys-absenting themselves is the largest at the time of harvest. A study of attendance-figures in village schools shows a sudden fall in attendance in the month of December, when the Khariff harvest is in full swing. Attendance usually suffers during the period of all principal agricultural operations like sowing, weeding, watching, and harvesting. In other words, the students are occupied with the work of their home and fields for over three months in a year at the expense of their study. Even during the rest of the period it cannot be said that they are serious about their studies.

The responsibility for the slackness of boys in study has to be shared by the teacher and the school authorities with the parents. The management of the school is far from satisfactory. The panchas evince little or no interest in the management. In most of the places, where the school has no building of its own, the school premises are anything but decent or commodious. The surroundings have not anything which is healthy or stimulating. Two or three classes are packed together in a room and the boys hear not what the teacher says but what his neighbour in another standard is learning by heart. The on-looker or the passer by of a school hears only the noise emerging from the school-room. Usually in smaller villages, one teacher manages 3 to 4 standards and he finds it impossible to pay individual attention. The school is rarely equipped with a play-ground. Games are not regularly taught. Drill and other extra-curricular activities are

absent. As the teachers as a class are low-paid, they have lost all enthusiasm and initiative. There is hardly any teacher who does not grumble about his precarious means of living. Balancing of family budget is the only problem which keeps their mind engaged for the whole day at the expense of other things. Few teachers can be met with, who take some genuine interest in education and new educational developments and experiments. Many of the teachers have not studied or read anything beyond what they had studied for their own examination. The teacher is more interested in the tour programme of the Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector and the transfer of teachers than in the education of the youngsters entrusted to his charge. One of the questions they invariably ask a gentleman coming from the taluka or the district place is about the movements of the Inspector. The teachers of the villages situated in the interior are more indifferent towards their duties than their colleagues elsewhere. They leave the students to mug up something and move about gossiping. They manage to know the coming of the Inspector sufficiently in advance, put up some show when he comes and thus create a good impression without doing actually much good to the boys. In such smaller and interior villages, the teacher occupies a prominent place in the social life. Even the Panchas of the village are afraid of finding fault with him. He is consulted on many matters and is respected also. He is given things like vegetables free. So he interests himself in many things which do not really concern his duties. But in bigger villages, where there are a number of educated unemployed, leadership is captured by them and the teacher is given no place in public life. He is not paid his due respects even, and is sometimes derided. These self-made leaders if they are panchas of the school, they go to the extent of exposing the weaknesses of the teacher with a view to trouble him. In a few villages, where the mischievous element is predominant the teacher has a hard lot as the complaints against him are regular even though he may be doing really good work. Any way, it can be said that the teachers, whatever may be the reasons for it, are partly responsible for the sad state of primary education in rural areas.

The indifference of the parents is equally responsible. The reason for their indifference is already explained. The parents have not realized that they owe a responsibility towards their children regarding teaching them the three R's. Even when they send their child to school they do not supervise his studies properly. There are many parents who do not know in what standard their boy is studying. They do not care to inquire whether the boy has passed or failed in the examination. The number of parents going to the teacher to inquire about the progress in studies of his boy is negligible. The mother on some occasions when the son complains of harsh-treatment of the teacher goes to the school, only to request the teacher to be more kind towards the boy. If the teacher ever complains of the negligence of the student in studies to his parent, the usual reply is that their boy is not going to be a big 'saheb' and that he may be allowed to study without hardship or inconvenience. When this is the attitude of the parents, it is not surprising if the boy neglects his home-work or studies. It is the experience of the teacher that he has to get the home work assigned to his pupils done in the classroom. Even the few who are serious about doing some study at home receive no encouragement. They are asked to do one thing or the other and they do not find time at all to study. Most of the boys are not given money to buy books. The father frowns when a few coins to buy note-books are asked for. That education has become very expensive these days is the usual commentary. The number of parents grumbling to pay a pice or so as contribution to 'Saraswati Pujan' or the worship of the goddess of learning in the school is not small. If some amount is asked for paying subscription to the purchase of a foot-ball or some other sports, it is straight-way refused. Most of the boys receive no encouragement from their parents. So they become unpunctual and irregular in their attendance, careless in their conduct, negligent in their studies, and ultimately leave the school before they have learnt anything useful.

Extent of Education :— Most of the boys who join, leave the school prematurely. The number of students goes on falling in the higher classes. The number is the largest in the infant class. Nearly 25% leave before they step in

the 1st standard. Again about 25% leave the school before they complete 2nd standard. Though many do not leave after the 2nd standard, still the percentage of boys leaving is not small. Hardly 25% of the boys of the infant class pass out the 4th standard. Very small percentage study beyond 4th standard. With a view to find out the extent of education among the adults in rural areas a sample census of 800 families under study was taken and the conclusions are recorded below.

19.3% of the adult males had enrolled themselves in primary schools. 5.8% left the school in a few months' time as they found learning too difficult. 5.5% left the school before they completed their 1st standard, 2.2% left in their 2nd standard, 1.8 p. c. in the 3rd standard, 1% in their 4th standard, 2.7% after passing their 4th standard, and 5% studied upto or passed the Vernacular Final Examination. The reason for leaving after 4th standard is the absence of teaching arrangements for higher standards in smaller villages.

A large percentage of persons who continue their education upto 4th standard and thereafter come from the traders' and the servants' class. The percentage of literacy is the least among the Harijans and low among the labourers. It is the highest among the traders and high among the superior servants and some of the non-agricultural artisan classes like gold-smiths. Among the cultivating owners and tenants literacy is average. But it is also high among the Brahmin land-lords. Really speaking a very small percentage among the so-called educated are really so, because many of the persons have now forgotten what they had learnt in schools and they know nothing beyond signing their names. The main reason for this is that students when once they leave the school lose all touch with reading or writing. As the villager has hardly any correspondence to attend to, he gets no practice in writing and in course of time forgets everything. As regards reading also it is the same thing. Newspaper reading has not come to stay in the villages. There are no public libraries or reading rooms in most of the villages. Very few are inclined to spend in buying a paper or a good book. In fact there are not many books in Kannada which can attract the attention of a rural

youngster. There is a dire need for the publication in Kannada of booklets in bold type and simple language and dealing with topics which are rural or those that can appeal to the rural readers. Inquiries showed that very few had read books. The some books that were read were religious ones pertaining to mythology, 'bhajan' songs etc. Some drama-books were also popular. Many were found who had read the 'Shani Mahatmya' or an eulogy pertaining to God Shani. Newspapers or periodicals if at all they are received in the village, they are read by not more than two or three persons. A few more hear it read or simply ascertain the important items. Things which are more commonly read are the advertizements of the cinemas or dramas at the taluka place. The so called educated have lost touch with reading to such an extent that the utility of and necessity for reading rooms and libraries is not still felt by them. Even the educated of some means are found at some places opposed to the opening of reading rooms and are reluctant to contribute their mite. At places where no difficulty is found in raising a hundred rupees for a religious fair, more serious attempts cannot succeed in collecting about Rs. 50 for a reading room. This typifies the attitude of the rural people towards education and indicates the nature of the up-hill task of popularizing education in rural areas.

Female Education :— Illiteracy among the females is pronounced. Except for a few girls from the Brahmins and the traders, other females are illiterate. The girl is kept away from the school and books. There are hardly 10-12 girls in a village school on an average. Even these leave before they complete, the 4th standard. At any rate the girl is made to leave the school before she attains puberty. Because a belief still persists among the rural people that the girl gets spoilt if she is allowed to go to the school after her puberty. The common view is that education to ladies spoils them. Some say that school education to ladies brings about a moral turpitude. Some others opine that education makes them unfit for married life and a few advocate that education for ladies is of no practical use and hence not needed. The last view contains an element of truth. The rural woman on an average never receives a letter during her life-time. Necessity of

writing a letter also does not arise in her case. As girls are usually married to somebody of the village or of a neighbouring village, no occasion for family correspondence ever arises. As the rural man does not believe in education for education's sake, he holds the view that females do not require to be educated. The fear of the rural people that education might wake up the woman to her real status in public life and that she might revolt against the dominance of the husband underlies to some extent the unwillingness of the father to send his daughter to school. A girl in the cultivator's class who has studied beyond the fourth standard is viewed with suspicion and finds it a bit difficult to get a husband. The rural society wants that woman must subserve her husband and nothing should disturb her present position. As education is likely to stir up the ideas of the woman regarding her position in life, the rural society is against female education. The attitude of the rural society towards female education is therefore, a part of its general attitude towards woman and is in keeping with its view that woman is the property of the father or the husband. At present the problem of female education is secondary to male education and cannot be solved unless the males are educated and a change in their attitude towards females is brought about.

Though school education is denied to the girl, necessary domestic education is imparted to her by the mother. Special care is taken by the mother to prepare her daughter for her future life. She teaches her all the things one by one. The girl is first taught to do light things. She begins with the cleaning of the floor with a broomstick and throwing off the dust and waste articles. She arranges plates for meals and serves such things as salt and water. She then goes with a small pot with her mother to the water-source to bring water. She carries the bread to her father in the fields. Then she learns to clear the utensils with ash and besmear the floor with dung. She helps the mother in grinding corn and pounding spices. She collects cow-dung and fallen branches for burning. She brings vegetables from the fields and hands them over to the mother after cleaning. She picks out pebbles from grains, dries them in the sun and stores them.

She takes care of the younger children and sees that they do not weep during the absence of the mother. She goes to the shop and brings things as directed. She goes out in the open with a goat first and then with a she-buffalow. She accompanies the mother to the bazaar with butter and learns marketing and shopping. She sees for herself how rice and bread are prepared and when the mother is ill or away to the bazaar she attempts to prepare rice. As she grows up, she takes upon herself more of the responsibilities of the kitchen. She gets up in the morning, grinds the corn, cleans the cattle shed, milks the cattle, sweeps the house, prepares the bread and sends it to the fields with her younger brother or sister. Then she brings water, washes the clothes, and goes to the field to help her elders. The mother fully trains up the girl before she completes her sixteen years or before she goes to stay with her husband after puberty. Education given at home is really useful to the girl for her future life. It has to be said to the credit of the rural mother that she excellently trains up her daughter and makes her fit for married life.

Secondary Education :—Usually there are no high-schools in rural areas but in a few bigger villages there are private schools coaching up students upto fourth standard in English. The parents intending to impart secondary education to their boys have to make some arrangements for their boarding and lodging at the taluka place before they admit them to the High-School. Only the rich can afford to spend on secondary education. The superior servants who cannot find any other vocation except service for their children, have perforce to impart secondary education to them. On account of the bad effects of unemployment, the agricultural class is disinclined to send up their children to High-Schools. Those who go to high-school study upto matric or become matriculates and when they fail to get a job, return to the village and become the mischief mongers. Secondary education is not likely to attract the rural people unless the problem of unemployment is permanently solved.

Agricultural Education :—The villager is illiterate in the sense that he has received no instruction in schools. At the

am a time he is ignorant about the bigger world outside his village. His illiteracy and ignorance is painted so red by the urban authors that an impression is created that the villagers know nothing and that they are brought up without education. In fact, the villager knows more things than what is generally supposed. He knows his occupation, fields and village better than anybody else. His memory power is not less strong than that of the urban man. He can tell without a mistake who is who in the village, his own history, and the story about his lands. The author was really struck with the marvellous memory power of many of the villagers. Only their expression power is not so strong. Still they know how to convey their thoughts to the urban man. He is the expert in his own occupation and he received training for his jobs from his early childhood. His father and other elder members of the family give him the necessary training and he learns things by seeing and doing. As a young boy he is given the work of taking bread to the fields, collecting of weeds, scaring away the sparrows, tending a goat, and carrying light things from one part of the field to another. As he grows up, he is taught weeding, watching, bunding, and manuring. Gradually he is taught to handle a plough, to operate a 'mot' or water drawing arrangement, to feed the bullocks, to spend the nights in the fields and to take part in agricultural operations. Through observation, he learns the difference between soils, the characteristics of a good bull, difference in quality among grains, the system of marketing, and other allied subjects. By the time he completes twenty-five years, he has learnt most of the things. The training in agriculture that he receives at home is usually under-valued. If all the boys of the cultivators had taken to learning English, probably the fate of Indian Agriculture would have been different. Agriculture is a science which can be learnt in the fields only, through hard labour. Agriculture is also an enterprise which calls for some qualities of head on the part of the agriculturist entrepreneur. The agriculturist should know when to plough and when to sow. He must have a knowledge of the stars and their relation to rain-fall. He should be in a position to tell when the ground is ready for sowing. Then he has to exercise his

discretion in the selection of the crop with due regard to the system of rotation and the expectations about rainfall. If the rains are inadequate for Khariff crops he has to wait for the 'Rabi' rains. Then he has to use his knowledge in the selection of good seed and in the method of sowing. He has to use his business tact in incurring expenditure on manure, bullocks etc. and see how much amount he should invest in each to have maximum returns. He has to find out whether the crop is ripe for reaping and collect labour for the purpose. He must possess organizational ability to engage labourers and get the work properly done by them. He has to be on the watch that his implements, bullocks, etc., are in order. He has to plan the whole day regarding the work of the next day. He has also to see that work is properly distributed among his family members. If, therefore, the head of the family lacks organizational ability and business experience, agriculture becomes a failure. It is the personal observation of the author that the cultivator in general possesses good memory, keen power of observation, and sufficient business tact. There are many cultivators who tell the value of land by simply looking at the soil. Generally every sugar-cane grower knows whether the cane is ready for crushing and whether the juice has boiled sufficiently into 'gul'. They need no thermometer or rain-gauge. Similarly there are live-stock experts who tell the nature of the bull by simply patting its back. Some of them even tell whether the cow is carrying by simply seeing it. The knowledge of the stars of some of the cultivators is surprising. Every cultivator recognises his bullock from a distance and can tell to whom a particular bull belongs. There are many other things which prove conclusively that the cultivator knows his job well and also that he can teach the job to his son better than any other teacher.

In the case of other artisans also, the father trains up his son in his profession and the son learns by seeing and doing things for himself.

Moral Education:—Moral education has an important place in the education of the child in rural areas. Moral education is imparted to the child by their parents only. Also the child

learns many things by imitation. Obedience to elders occupies the first place in the moral education. In a joint family unless other members obey the orders of the patriarch, the working will be impossible. The word of the head of the family has to be respected by others and his decision is final and binding. Anybody who repeatedly disobeys is expelled from the family. Even in such important matters as marriage the choice of the head of the family is final. Next to obedience, good manners constitute another lesson in moral education. The juniors are not to smoke or chew betel-nut and leaves before their elders. They are also to vacate the seats when elders come. They are not to address elders by names. Many of these things are learnt by the child through observation. The child is taught to behave well from his childhood only. Stress is also laid on sexual morality. But education in this respect is not very effective. Among the labourers the spirit of individualism is powerful and so the moral education is slack. It is only among the cultivating owners that the standard of moral education imparted, is high. In other classes it is not as high as it ought to be. Anyway the rural child receives more moral education at home than what is usually supposed,

Physical Education :—In the past physical education was given the highest importance. Every parent was anxious to see that his son becomes a wrestler and outshines others in the build and health of his body. Now delicacy is becoming the fashion of the day and physical education is neglected. Reference is made to this subject in the subsequent chapter on rural health and hygiene.

CHAPTER XIII

The Rural Health and Hygiene

The Environment :— The village environment is an important factor determining the health of the rural people. The situation and lay-out of the village govern to a large extent the sanitary conditions. Generally, a village comes into existence near a water source like a river or a brook. People cannot establish at a place where water is not available. Similarly a village does not exist or cannot thrive on a barren or unproductive land. There are no villages on the top of hills. On grass-lands, a few houses can be seen scattered here and there. On the other hand, in the villages of fertile soil and well-watered, the villages are near each other and are densely populated. But such villages situated as they are in a low land, can have no good arrangements for drainage. In the rainy-season the water does not flow down or out easily and stagnates in pits or depressions in the ground. In some villages where the depressions are of a very big size water does not dry up till summer and breeds mosquitoes and gives out a stinking smell. Though there are not many villages which have such stinking pools of water in or around them, in almost every village the rain-water does not flow out and remain collected at several places till it is dried up or absorbed in the ground. Absence of gutter-system is also one of the causes of bad drainage. But the unfavourable situation of the village is an impediment to the building up of gutters in villages. Unplanned house-building and crooked lanes constitute another barrier for the introduction of gutter-system. In rural areas there is no authority to attend to house-planning. Every-body builds his house on a site which he can obtain. Usually he chooses a site near the residence of his caste-men. So the village is split up into small areas each occupied by members of a caste. The outskirts of the village are inhabited by the Harijans. Among them there are also several castes like the Holeyas, the Dhor, the Holedas, the Samagar and each forms a colony of its own.

The Dhors or the hide-tanners occupy one furthest corner of the village. As the process of tanning requires soaking of hides in water and drying them etc., the surroundings of the Dhors always breathe a nauseating smell. The Samagars are shoe-makers and as they have to handle hides, their houses also give out an unpleasant smell. Apart from the stinking atmosphere which the nature of the occupation of the Harijans creates, their ways of living set up unsanitary conditions about their dwellings. Cleanliness and sanitation are not very familiar to these people. They do not sweep the space round about their huts and do not remove things even when they rot. They throw out the dirt and other waste-matter of cooked food in front of their houses and do not object to the passing of urine or of stools by children just by the side of the huts. Goats or other cattle are tied near their huts and no trouble is taken to clean the ground of their urine. Fowls are also allowed to make things dirty as they please. Pigs have also a license to perpetuate rot near and round these huts. The surroundings are so unsanitary that an urban man accustomed to live under sanitary conditions can hardly spend a while in these huts without feeling a sensation of nausea.

On the other sides round the village, there are the manure-pits, the latrine-ground, and the grass-storing place. The manure-pits are sometimes situated only at one end of the village and in some villages they are spread round on all sides of the village. These pits are invariably shallow and when the urine, dung, and waste-matter thrown in these pits begin to rot, the atmosphere gets polluted. These pits are so near the village at some places that when the wind is blowing towards the village it carries a stinking smell. In rural areas there are no built-latrines or urinals. People answer their calls of Nature near the village behind some shrub or in a low land.

In the village proper, it is already stated that building of houses is not well-planned. The lanes are narrow, uneven, and crooked. There is no arrangement to clean or sweep the lanes. The house-wife throws the dust and dirt of the house in the lane. Some people throw in the lane even the leafy-plates used for eating food. Houses which are equipped

with a bath-place or wash-place inside, have outlets for the water into the lane; so the lanes at some places are wet with the dirty water used for bathing or washing. Children use the lanes as latrines. At night, even the adults pass their urine in the lanes. Some lanes are so unclean that one cannot pass by them without shutting his nose. Only some sensible people sweep off the dirt from the part of the lane in front of their house. The village patil attends to the cleanliness of the village, only when a visit of a Revenue Officer is fixed up. The lanes are muddy, watery, or slippery in the rainy-season and dirty and dusty during the rest of the year. Thus considered from the sanitation point of view there is much to be improved in the village environment.

Just as no attention is paid to building of houses in the village according to a definite plan, construction of buildings on hygienic lines has not received sufficient consideration. The houses are built partly by mud and partly by stones. As stone-construction is costly, mud is used in greater proportions. The foundation is laid in stones and the walls are built with mud. As the foundation is not kept as sound as it ought to be in the case of many houses, dampness creeps into the floor, when water collects in the lanes during the rainy-season. The roofs of the houses are usually closed and covered with mud leaving a round hole at two or three places to allow light to enter in or the smoke to pass out. But the light received from these holes is insufficient and the kitchen or the bed-room is dungy in the case of at least 25 p.c. of the houses. During the rains, these light-holes have to be closed to prevent rains from drizzling inside. But this turns the house into a dark-room. There is generally no separate shed for cattle which are tied in the inner court-yard during night-time. In the morning, cattle are removed to the fields and the dung, urine and eaten grass is removed to the manure-pit. As cleaning is not thorough in the majority of cases, mosquitoes and flies swarm this place. The labourers who own a goat or two tie them to a peg near their bed for want of space. The urine and dung of goats has such a loathsome smell that one wonders how these people sleep over their

nights in the company of these animals. Even in the houses of big cultivating owners, one has to use a thick bed cover if he wants to keep away the flies during the day and mosquitoes during the night. These houses are also not sufficiently ventilated. There is hardly a window or two for a house. It seems that the people are afraid of fitting muddy walls with windows lest thieves might get in at night without much trouble. The other reason is that the people have not yet realized the importance of keeping windows or that of ventilation. In this ill-ventilated house, they keep not only cattle, but also other things like grass, grain and agricultural implements. Cooking is also done in the house. In the absence of proper chimneys for the passage of smoke, it gets dumped in the kitchen and chokes and blinds the persons inside. In 50 p. c. of the houses there is no systematic passage for the smoke. Apart of the same house is used as a bed room. The big cultivating owner who own a large house have a separate bed room but the majority of others have no independent room for sleeping. The parents sleep at the same place as their children, who sleep on the same bed and not infrequently under the same cover. Over-crowding in rural areas exists to a larger extent than what is generally supposed.

The water for drinking is brought from the river, brook or a well. Rivers are in floods during the rains and the water becomes completely muddy. People who depend on the river for their drinking water have to use the muddy water only, for 3 months in a year. It is noticed that rural people do not boil, filter or decant this water and drink it as it is brought from the river. In summer when brooks run dry, water is obtained by digging slightly in the ground. Where water is obtained from the well, care is not taken to disinfect the well occasionally.

The Human Factor :—The ways of living of the rural man are largely responsible for his health. The rural man has still to cultivate many of the hygienic habits, Bath is not considered a daily necessity by many people. The percentage of adult males and females taking bath every day hardly exceeds 30. Only the Brahmins take bath daily. The scarcity of water and

distance of the water-source from the village is one of the reasons why bath is not taken daily. Every adult male and female bathes on Saturday before he or she visits the temple of Hanuman. Monday is another day when bath is usually taken. Ladies bathe on the day when they are in the monthly course. Generally people bathe twice a week. Devotees of Goddess Yellamma, bathe on Tuesday which is the day of that Goddess. People also bathe on all important holidays. Bath is taken more frequently during the harvest time when the body becomes wet with sweat and during the sowing period when legs become muddy. Ladies after delivery and babies are regularly bathed. But the Harijan and other lower castes are indolent about taking a bath once a week even. Children in all classes are not regular about bath and they are bathed at the will and convenience of their mother. The place where bath is taken by adults is the river, a tank or a step-well. In the rainy season people living on the banks of rivers have to use the muddy waters. In the case of step-wells or tanks the water is more or less stagnant and it is dirty on account of many people taking a bath in it. Ladies generally take the bath at home unless there is bathing arrangement on the river. Hot water is used by ladies. But the water used for the bath is hardly a bucketful and they finish up the bath with that quantity of water. Soap is rarely used by them. The things generally used to clean the head are the tamarind quash, powder of jowar or maize. 'Shige-kayi' is used by a few. A few still use washing soda. To clean the body, it is rubbed with a stone. Males generally rub off the dirt of their body with their hand or a stone. Soap is being used by a small section of males.

Care of Teeth :—Teeth are not cleaned with powder every day. Small children up-to the age of ten or so simply gargle the mouth with some water. Adults rub their teeth with their finger. The burnt tobacco is generally used as tooth-powder. A few use salt and some others charcoal. The use of charred dry cow-dung is also common. Soft sand of the river bed is also used by some. People are not particular about cleaning the teeth immediately they get up. Many clean before taking bath.

Answering the calls of Nature :—People have no uniform habit of passing the stools in the morning. Adult males pass it when they feel the call of Nature pressing. As there is no closed latrine arrangement, ladies answer their calls in the open early in the morning or in the evening. Water is invariably used for cleaning. Ladies carry a water pot with them. But males if they go to the river-side, wash with the river-water. Children when there is no-body to wash them, use a stone or a leaf whichever is handy.

Combing of hair :—Ladies in general do not comb their hair daily. They do it whenever they have leisure, with oil. Poorer women occasionally apply oil. Males are not in the habit of applying oil to the hair or into the ears. Only babies are applied oil. Ladies apply oil to the body before taking a bath when their menstrual period sets in. In Divali only everybody has an oil-bath.

Washing of Clothes :—Rural people are not regular in washing their clothes. Males wash their clothes before taking bath. Females also wash their sari on the day of their taking bath. Soap is not used by ladies. Some males have begun to use soap recently. The washerman is not generally approached. The clothes of males like the dhoti, shirt etc., get soiled black and even when washed they are anything but clean-white. As the saris of ladies are invariably of some non-white colour, they do not appear soiled even though they are not washed for a number of days. The clothes of rural people in general are not very clean though it cannot be positively said that they are dirty.

Other General Habits :—Rural man has not cultivated all the habits of a civilized urban-dweller. Punctuality and regularity are practically strangers to him. He has not any set time for taking his meals, enjoying the sleep, or working in the fields. He is regularly irregular in many of his ways of life. In fact, the nature of his occupation is such that he can, not be regular. He does things under compulsion of Nature or according to the convenience of work. He answers the calls of Nature when he receives them. He takes his food when he is hungry and when it is available. He goes to sleep

when he has no work to do. He takes a bath or washes his clothes when he feels like it. He gets himself shaved when he is free from work and when the barber is handy. He enjoys smoke when he is a bit tired of work or when he has no work. He works in the field as per the needs of the season and during the off-season as per his whims. There is no time-limit for his work or talk. When he engages himself in a chat, he loses sense of time or the urgency of other work. He has no fixed hours for working, sleeping or chating. He does things without reference to time. Sun-rise, mid-day, and sun-set are only the three timings familiar to him. Difference of an hour or two are immaterial to him. If an engagement is fixed with him at 3 P. M., he would come an hour earlier or late and never in time. Because, firstly, he cannot measure his time in terms of hours and minutes. Secondly, he has not realized the importance of time and thirdly he does not feel the necessity of working to the clock. He has not to attend office; he has not to catch the train; nor has he usually such important appointments where time is of vital importance. Agriculture is an operation extending over months and a delay of a few hours here or there matters nothing. Again, as agricultural operations like ploughing, sowing, and reaping are to be carried out under the vagaries of rainfall and climate, the agriculturist cannot work regularly and punctually as per his own programme. In view of these it seems doubtful whether the rural man can ever form regular habits in his ways of living.

Diet:—What the rural man consumes is dealt with in detail in the chapter on rural consumption. The food is simple and nutritive. There is not much fat in it; this explains why there are very few fatty people among the villagers. There is also no variety in the food taken. It is only on holidays that there is a change in food for the better. During the rainy season and the harvesting season, green vegetables are taken with bread. Rural people eat onions, carrots, chilly, ground-nuts, gram, and the like in their raw condition only. Ripe corn of jowar, bajri, maize etc., are roasted fresh and eaten. Milk of goat, cow, or buffalow is drunk without heating. The diet, though it is not very rich in vitamins, is sufficiently nutritive and is suited to the life of rural people.

General State of Health :—Rural man has generally good health and sturdy constitution. His digestive power is very strong. He can digest even raw things which are hard to digest for the urban man. He can over-eat himself without the fear of indigestion. At the same time, he can bear hunger till he gets his food. He easily consumes on feast days double of what he ordinarily eats. During the crushing operations of sugar-cane, he drinks more than half a gallon of juice and eats a seer of gul without any trouble of dysentery. He digests even raw chillies. Bad appetite is taken as the complaint of the rich by the rural people. Constipation is another disorder of the civilized man which is not common in rural areas. Many do not know what it is. When the author inquired of the rural people whether they suffered from constipation, many people told that they did not know what that trouble was and the author had to explain what it meant before he could get a reply from them, that they had no complaint of that nature. On account of the good exercise that they receive, they do not suffer from sleeplessness. After the day's hard work rural people can be found enjoying sound sleep even in the midst of bugs and mosquitoes. During summer cultivators who had toiled throughout morning to the point of exhaustion can be seen lying fast asleep at mid-day under the shade of a tree on an uneven ground without a bed, a cover or a pillow. To the cultivator grass is the bed, shade, the cover, and his arm, the pillow. But when there is work, he can pass days without sleep. During the reaping season, he does not go to bed till reaping, collecting, and carrying home is complete. Similarly, during the crushing of sugar-cane he has to postpone his sleep till the work is over. When he plies his cart to a distant place, he enjoys his nap on the moving cart only. When he has to water the fields or go to the town he gets up few hours before day-break. As regards sleep, he can invite it at any time he wants and at the same time he can postpone it when there is work.

Rural man has good strength and energy. He can break clods of earth, cut trees, carry heavy loads, and fight a bull. He can walk miles together without fatigue, run long

distances without exhaustion, and shout in a voice which can be heard over a furlong or two. His tenacity of work is also great. He has power of forbearance also. He can bear thirst, hunger, and minor physical sufferings without a grumble. His sight is keen and power of hearing, subtle. At the same time he has no delicate tastes. He can relish jowar bread with some vegetables. Wheat-bread and sugar is a feast to him. His general constitution is such as can buffet with the forces of Nature. He can work under the hot sun without fainting, move in cold without a shiver, take cold water bath without catching-cold, plod thorny or heated road without shoes, and walk in the rains without an umbrella. His legs are so inured that ordinary thorns cannot prick them nor hot sand burn them. The skin of the hand is so hardened that thorny feathers of the sugar-cane, or thorny ears of safflower do not pinch him. His muscles are so developed that some extra work here and there does not bring on an exhaustion.

The factors responsible for sound health and strong constitution mainly are, the open-air, heavy work, and solid food. Rural man spends most of his day out in the open fields. Only during the rainy season and during a part of the cold season he sleeps in his ill-ventilated house. During summer, he sleeps on the verandah; so he gets ample fresh air. The heavy work that he does digests the food and wards off minor disorders of the body. Good digestion and sound sleep are the additional factors contributing to the maintenance of his sound health. But the most important reason for the good health of the rural people seems to be the action of Natural Selection. The struggle for existence is very keen among the rural people and only those who are physically sound can survive. Persons with delicate health and weak constitution cannot earn their bread or withstand the forces of Nature and so they go to the wall making room for those who can adapt themselves to the unkind natural environment of the rural area. Natural Selection operates on children only—only those children which can bear sun-shine, cold, and rains alike, are selected. Weaklings die in their childhood only, and the delicate boys lie in their graves before their

youth. For this reason, mortality among children is the highest, as pointed out in the chapter on Rural Population. Only the strong and sturdy live on. If medical aid had been made available to save sickly children from death, the rural side would have presented a spectacle of youths unfit to live in rural areas. Without a means for subsistence, these people would have been left to starve or commit suicide. Some people deplore the high mortality among children and advocate that medical aid should be made available to the rural people. Problem of feeding the children who are coming into the world as such a high rate as more than 40 per thousand is not probably visualized by these people. It has to be pointed out that the standard of rural health will fall down if children unfit for rural environment are saved from the clutches of death through medical aid.

Common Diseases :— From the foregoing pages, it should not be concluded that there are no diseases in rural areas. In fact, all or most of the diseases that scourge the urban areas can be obtained in rural areas also. But they do not perpetually reside there, as they do in the urban areas. When they come, they operate with all virulence and recede from the village after having exacted a heavy toll of death. But the sight of persons who are ailing for life which is so common in urban areas is not an usual one in villages. The rural man either survives the disease or succumbs to it. But he does not linger on in life as a diseased man. Costliness of modern medicine has kept away the physician from him. He is not rich enough to prolong his life on dozes of medicines. Nature is so stern that he is allowed to live, only as long as he can earn his bread without outside help. When he is found unfit for his task he is replaced in this world by some one who is fit to live. Charity or medicine does not come forward to save him from his doom.

The common diseases of rural areas are generally of a seasonal type and are engendered by seasonal changes. When rainy season begins, the water gets muddy and polluted, and produce diarrhoea or cholera. At the end of the rainy season, the green foliage makes room for bare trees with leaves that

wither and rot producing malaria or typhoid. Typhoid is common just at the beginning of winter. In the irrigated villages, the malarial fever rages all the year round. During summer, there is water scarcity and when impure water is drunk, it produces all sorts of diseases. As many of the wells on the rural sides are step-wells, water gets easily contaminated. Guinea-worm is one of the deadliest enemies of rural people, which is thriving in many villages even to this date. Among other diseases, plague and small-pox are occasional visitors. But one visit of plague, purges the village of half or one-fourth of its population. But consumption has found the village not a congenial place for it to live in. Other diseases like appendicitis, cancer, etc., are not heard of. The reason for this seems to be not their non-occurrence but the ignorance of the rural people regarding diagnosis of the disease. They do not understand that fever is a symptom and not a disease. Every disease which is accompanied by temperature passes off as fever, though it may be typhoid, influenza or consumption. For the same reason, the causes of death as shown in village records disclose fever as the important cause of death. Similarly, all complaints of stomach, intestine, or kidneys are classed under the category of stomach-ache. Many diseases whose names the villager has not heard of might be attacking him without his knowing their name. However, other diseases are not so common as they are in the urban areas. Among other minor diseases, skin diseases like eczema is very common. As ladies take their bath with the sari on, the part round the waist remains unwashed and contracts eczema easily. The number of ladies who have some skin disease or the other is very large. Among the diseases that have of late affected the rural areas are the venereal diseases. They prevail on a larger scale than what is usually supposed. The Harijan prostitutes have been mainly responsible in spreading the poison in rural areas. The males of the other classes contract the disease from the prostitutes and propagate it in their own wives. A larger number of people including females are suffering from venereal diseases and if prompt measures are not taken, they will affect rural health and vitality adversely.

It is already pointed out that rural people are not in the general habit of approaching the physician. Most of the minor troubles, like fever, cold, or dysentery are left to themselves to subside in course of time. If it is malaria, quinine is taken. But tongue is not controlled or diet regulated. It is only when the patient becomes serious, the other members of the family wake up to do something. People of the village who administer the medicines are approached and their prescriptions taken. The Mantrika or the village 'Shaman' if there be any, is invited to treat the patient. Then they run up to the local deity and bring 'Thirtha' or holy water and give it to the patient. If there is a local religious head, mendicant or ascetic, holy ashes are brought from him and are applied to the forehead of the patient. God is implored to speed up the recovery of the patient and offerings are promised to him. Other members of the family sit by the side of the patient uttering the name of God and sigh in despair that what is destined in life cannot be escaped. It is only the rich and who consider the life of the patient more precious than money, think of a qualified physician when all other attempts of the village quacks have failed. It is the general observation that the physician is brought when it is too late for him to do anything to save the life of the person. Even when an epidemic is raging in the village and when many are dying, rural people do not feel the necessity of taking precautionary measures. They do not even take the trouble of using boiled water even when cholera is prevailing. During other times no precautionary measures whatsoever are taken. It is only when a measure like vaccination or inoculation is made compulsory the villager adopts it reluctantly. His apathy towards these measures is partly due to ignorance about medical science and partly due to the fatalistic belief that everything is done for man by Him and nothing can be done against Fate. He believes more in the curing power of the holy water of the local deity than in the physician's medicine. He thinks that if he is destined by Him to live, no disease on earth can take away his life.

Trend of Rural Health: Old people of the village take pride in narrating the glories and achievements of their youth

and deplore that the present generation has not even half the vitality that they possessed. They go to the extent of showing that their own children cannot do as much work as they are now doing in their oldage. They assert that all was well during their times. Even if some discount is allowed for these statements for the simple reason that the older generation always finds fault with the younger one, it has to be admitted that there is some truth in what the older people say about rural health. Taking food which is a vital factor governing health, as an example, it can be seen that the food consumed now, contains less of nutritive substances. In old times there was no market for milk and everybody had livestock of one description or the other. Butter had not such importance as a commodity of export to distant cities. Every body drank the milk his cattle yielded and in sufficient quantities. Butter and curds were also freely consumed. Butter-milk was used like water to quench the thirst. The poorer people who had no cattle of their own got butter-milk from others free on request. At present a large part of milk production is consumed by tea-shops and butter is exported to towns and cities. Regarding vegetables also, it seems that quantity consumed by rural people has decreased in recent years. The tendency is to grow more of commercial crops like cotton and sugar-cane and even when vegetables are grown, they are marketed, and the unmarketable inferior stuff is consumed at home. Side by side with the decrease in the nutritive substances in the food of the rural people, certain habits which are not conducive to sound health have increased and developed. Tea drinking has become a fashion with some and habit with many. Tea-drinking is considered as an essential part of civilization. Hospitality is not complete without a cup of tea to the guest. Tea is offered to him instead of meals even if he comes at mid-day or at night. A meeting is not considered a success unless tea is served at the end. Acquaintance does not develop into friendship without the assistance of tea. Officers are not pleased without its influence. There can be no social function without it. Tea is drunk first as a fashion and soon it becomes a habit. This habit is very common in the irrigated region and is slowly making its head-way in the interior; also. Tea-

shops have come into existence in most of the major villages and they are becoming increasingly popular. Many of the drinkers find the morning time uneasy without a cup of tea. They need nothing to eat with tea and they are also not satisfied with tea which is not boiled sufficiently. They cannot relish it unless it gives a slightly bitter taste. The injurious effects of this type of tea need not be stressed. What is worse still is that tea has taken the place of break-fast. The rural people used to do their morning work after eating a few breads of jowar or bajri. But the drinkers of tea draw their energy for work, only from their morning tea. Naturally they cannot do as much work as they used to do when they were taking break-fast. In spite of the apparent drawbacks of tea-drinking, the habit is growing. The author has seen people selling milk to tea-shops at the rate of one pice per cup and taking tea at the same place at the rate of 2 pices per cup. People can also be met with who will do many things at the cost of their own work in the fields, if a cup of tea is promised. Formerly, when people went to the bazar they used to purchase sweetmeats and eat them with water. Now tea has taken their place. Apart from the injurious effects of tea on appetite and digestion, tea-drinking has promoted many other habits which are unhealthy. Tea-shop is the centre where people come to idle away their time. Few customers leave without having gossiped for some time and enjoyed their pipe. Tea-shops have encouraged the smoking of 'bidis' and chewing of betel-nut or betel-nut and leaves.

Use of intoxicants, like drinking of toddy, smoking of ganja and eating of opium has also exercised a baneful effect on rural health. Addiction to intoxicants was definitely increased during the last 50 years as can be seen from the increasing revenue of the Government from excise.

False notions regarding civilization borrowed from the urban areas have been considerably responsible for impairing rural health. Many begin with tea to demonstrate their civilization. For this purpose they spend more on clothes and other luxuries than on the necessities of life. To show that they are not stingy, they use a service bus even when the distance to be travelled is not much. On the road-

side of villages, people can be found waiting for the bus to come even for a period which is longer than what is actually required to walk over the distance. On bazar days, 10-12 annas are spent on travelling even when the purchases to be made are of a rupee or two. Even labourers who otherwise walk miles together, cannot check the temptation of going in a bus. Where there is no bus-service, carts are used. Thus walking has yielded place to travelling by bus or cart. Through one conveyance or the other, travelling is undertaken frequently to the town place. Town with its tea-shops and cinema-houses, has become an attraction to the rural people. There are many people who visit the town on bazar days only to enjoy a stroll, to sip a cup, or to see a cinema show. If they make a halt, they take tea twice or thrice without food, see a picture without taking sleep and go back to the village discussing the characters in the picture. The work in the fields appears insipid and monotonous to them when they find the table-work of many of the urbanites. Delicacy is considered as one of the traits of civilization as opposed to roughness. A good eater is ridiculed and an industrious worker is not esteemed. To conclude, indolence has increased, and gossiping habit has developed. Less attention is being paid to physical development and more care is taken of bodily embellishment. Wrestling houses are being deserted and tea-shops are being flocked. Less of food is eaten and more of tea is drunk. More interest is taken in village politics and affairs of others, than in one's own work. Delicacy is more admired than potency. On account of these tendencies the rural people have lost much of their vigour and vitality. Rural health has suffered deterioration and this is more so in the case of people of irrigated villages who come in frequent contact with the urban population. However the process of deterioration has just begun and has not yet extended to many of the villages in the interior. But if the evil tendencies which are responsible for deterioration are not curbed in time, deterioration will go on unchecked and beyond all bounds.

CHAPTER XIV

Rural Songs.

In the rural surroundings the humming of songs of various types and tunes is ever present as a sort of background music to village at work, particularly so, in the early hours of the morn when the sweet soothing music of the women folk sung with careless ease to the steady hissing of the grinding wheel, surges slowly in the cool, calm atmosphere lulling babes to sleep and drones to slumber. To the sophisticated ear of the urban man fed on modern tunes, these songs may sound crude, insipid and disgusting; but to the villager denied as he is the modern means of diversion, a folk-song is a fountain of delight, a source of strength and recreation and a way of employing leisure.

Uses of songs to the rural folk.—To the young kids driven out by adverse economic conditions from school to cattle tending in open fields at an age when playing and learning ought to have been their only routine, a song is their only solace and a kind of a play-mate. Similarly, singing over the grinding wheel, is the only occasion when many a house-wife worried with her domestic troubles can forget herself in the music of her song. So, much is the charm of the song that rarely does any grinder, boatman, stone-lifter, or any other worker feel the fatigue of his work as long as he is singing. Songs help the cart driver dozing his way to some distant land in the darkness of the night to defy loneliness or tediousness of distance. The cultivator who has to do the same operation over and over again while ploughing, threshing and watering his fields can get the monotony of work dispelled by engaging himself in singing. They also give energy and strength to the shepherds who have at times to play on dhols for hours together. In the otherwise serene atmosphere of marriage, songs infuse enthusiasm among women and impart a touch of merriment to the occasion. A cradle song is an infallible doze which a mother can use to silence the reluctant babe to sleep. As songs are to be said in public they offer an

opportunity particularly to women to shake off their nervousness. They improve their tone also. Besides, they train memory and inculcate among villagers the habit of learning things. They stimulate intelligence and foster competitive spirit among singers. To some extent they promote social intercourse also.

Classification of rural songs.—Rural songs can be classified as follows :—

(A) Those sung by few who are professionals but popularly appreciated—or popular songs, if we can call them so.

Popular songs include—(1) Lavani songs. (2) Festival songs—(a) Holi, (b) Gullavva, (c) Jokumar, and (d) Alab songs. (3) Ceremonial songs—(a) Puberty, (b) Marriage, (c) Pregnancy, and (d) Cradle songs. (4) Religious songs—(a) Bhajan songs, and (b) Vadapus. (5) Dhol songs. (6) Beggar's songs—(a) Jogati, (b) Konchi-Korvar, and (c) Das songs. (7) Drama songs. (8) Dance songs. (9) Sport-songs.

(B) Those songs that are popularly sung or folk-songs. These include,—(1) Grinding songs (2) Threshing songs. (3) Holi songs (some of them only). (4) Cart-driving songs.

Lavani songs.—It is a song of any number of stanzas each consisting of some even number of lines. The last stanza includes the name of the poet. There is rhyming between every two lines. More care is taken about rhyming than about metre. The first two lines of the song are repeated at the end of each stanza. Lavanis dwell on heroic deeds of the past, events from mythology, love or philosophy.

When the lavani song is slightly changed in the manner of singing and sung to the accompaniment of instruments 'dhāppa', 'tāl' and 'tūn-tūn', it comes to be called a 'Shahir gānā'. The 'Shahir gana' party consists of three persons—one singer who also plays on 'dhāppa'; one to play on 'tūn-tūn' and another to play on 'tāl'. No sooner the singer completes a stanza the rest two prolong it by repeating the first two lines of the song and ending it in notes of "ji ji"—. Therefore these songs are also known as "ji ji" songs. :

Among 'shahirs' or singers are two schools of thought, the Hardeshi school and the Nageshi school. The poets belonging to the first school always try to prove the superiority of the male sex, whereas the other advocates that of the female sex. The 'shahir' or singer can choose any school he likes. Among the Hardeshi poets of Karnatak, Mr. Gopal Durdundi is reputed. He combines in himself the peculiar art of appealing through actual instances from practical life. Imambhai of Ankalagi is an expert in shrewd questioning. Sukkar Naik of Inchal follows the satirical method. Kyamanna of Gakak emphasizes the sexual superiority of the male. Gopalappa Bagewadi relies more on mythological instances while proving his case.

Among the Nageshis the prominent are Madarkhandi Ellappa, Settibhai of Kudchi, Kubbanna Mahalingapur and Gadagayya.

When a 'shahir-gānā' or singing programme is to be arranged shahirs belonging to rival groups are invited. Each party in turn puts questions to the other who has to give an off-hand reply in song. A tense wordy duel alone can lend colour to the programme. The party that fails to give a satisfactory reply is looked down or stamped out.

It is important to note that many of the poets and shahirs who have studied the religious books of Hindus are Muslims.

Festival Songs:—A festival is an occasion of joy and merriment to the villager. Singing is but a way of enjoying these festivals. Each festival has its own set of songs.

(a) **Holi Songs:**—The songs are current for a week during the celebration of the Holi-festival in spring. Excesses of voluptuous display form the main feature of this festival. The baser passions of man are given fullest freedom to express themselves in songs. Some of them are too obscene to be illustrated here.¹ Many of the vulgar lavanis are also popularly sung at this time.

1. Most of the songs appearing in the next chapter under 'extra-marital love' are 'Holi songs.'

(b) **Jokumar¹ songs** :— From the next day of the drowning of God Ganesha for a week women of boatmen take round the village an earthen idol having a long and protruding male organ — he is Jokumar. Songs sung during this occasion contain description of the generative organ and a narration of the immoral life of Jokumar. The songs are sung usually by women of Ambiga or boatman caste.

(c) **Gullavva² Songs** :—On Wednesdays in the month of Shravana, girls go to the river side and play. An earthen idol of Gullavva is prepared, worshipped and finally drowned. Only girls take part in the festival. Many of these songs are vulgar if not obscene. There is also a variety in the form of songs.

Religious or devotional songs :—(a) **Bhajan songs** :—Songs sung by the devotees of God are known as Bhajan songs. They contain the praise of God or the shortcomings of this life. There is always an accompaniment of 'tāl' and sometimes an instrument called 'mradang.' Bhajan saptas or weeks are conducted once a year in many of the villages, when Bhajan songs are sung continuously for a week. Bhajan songs of Vithoba and Shiva are very popular.

(b) **'Vadapu' songs** :—A 'Vadapu' is a panegyric of Veerabhadra, the revered God of Lingayats. This can be sung only by the rightful devotees of that God known as 'Parvanteru.'³ These songs contain the description of that God and his deeds. They are sung during the "guggul" ceremony before marriage and at every function when God is taken out or round the temple in a procession.

Beggar's songs :— The Harijan prostitutes or jogatis when their youth passes away find that their profession can no longer maintain them. In the name of Goddess Yellavva they go on begging from place to place. They sing the eulogies of Yellavva to the accompaniment of instruments called 'Chaudaki,' 'surati,' and 'tal.' They try to show that

-
1. Refer chapter on Hindu holidays.
 2. Refer chapter on Hindu holidays
 3. Refer to marriage customs.

'Ādi-shakti' or woman is omnipotent in this world. Young prostitutes also accompany the party for self-advertisement. These singers have always in reserve some of the most vulgar songs meant for youngsters.

Songs are also sung by Das men and Konchi-korvar women.

Dhol Songs :—On every occasion when the service of God in a temple takes place the shepherds who owe allegiance to that temple have to play on 'dhol.'¹ The party usually consists of five persons. Sometimes they sing while beating against the dhol. Their songs give fantastic description of some mythological events in a peculiar literary style.

A playing competition is also arranged between two parties belonging to different villages ; as in shahirgana questions are asked and answered.

Dance songs :—The chief among the dances prevalent in Karnatak are the tiger dance and 'kol' or stick dance. Tiger dance is common during Moharam festival of Muslims. Songs sung on this occasion are known as 'karabāl' songs.

Kol-dance :—It is arranged during Bhajan weeks. Young boys and girls with short sticks or 'kol' in their hands dance in a variety of ways and sing.

Ceremonial songs.—When any ceremony is being observed women sing a set of songs suited to the occasion. These songs describe the details of the ceremony and the ceremonial. Persons and things figuring in the ceremony are portrayed in ideal terms. The song consists usually of four lines like a folk-song, but a two-line or six-line stanza is not uncommon. When the singer or singers have completed a song the rest of the women around lengthen their tune in chorus with a note of 'Sō-ō-ō ningava'.² Therefore these are also known as shobāna³ songs. -

1 A kind of musical instrument.

2 Name of a female ; 'Ningavva' seems to be the corrupt form of 'Lingava', Linga meaning idol of Shiva.

3 Shobana means auspicious or good.

As there is a ceremony usually at every crisis of life we have corresponding to them, (1) puberty song ; (2) marriage songs ; (3) pregnancy songs and (4) cradle songs.

Folk-Songs.

What is a folk-song:—A folk-song has the following differential characteristics.

(1) From the collection of folk-songs of the author it seems that a folk-song is invariably a four-line verse in which the second line is repeated with an addition of a word or more to form the third line.

(2) Each song usually turns on one thought only.

(3) The author or place of origin is unknown.

(4) It can be sung by anybody without any musical instruments.

(5) It is sung usually when at work.

Whatever may be the technical definition of a folk-song it is undisputed that it expresses some idea, feeling or thought. Thus it is either a description of a person or an object, a narration of facts or experience, or a reflection on a thing or event. Again it may be a spontaneous overflow or a premeditated composition or a product of two factors combined. If a song belongs to the first variety it contains an emotional overflow of the singer—his natural reaction to something. Otherwise, it may describe, narrate or reflect upon a thing or idea in a subjective or an objective manner. As the rural man lacks both the scientific outlook and training, it is rarely that we meet with songs which contain a scientific exposition.

Metre of songs.—The metre of songs is known in Kannada literature as Tripadi. It is a local metre and is being used since times immemorial. But the credit of popularizing this metre goes to Sarvadya, a renowned poet of Kannada. It is said that the earliest recorded song of this metre is found in one of the inscriptions of 7th century. ¹

Importance of the study of folk-songs.—Folk-songs disclose rural culture. They tell us about villager's ideals and ideas, customs and manners, beliefs and superstitions. They are like

1. Kannada Kaipidi pages 144-150 Part II.

a mirror in which we can observe not only the psychological reactions of the rural folk to the crises of life but also to such crucial moments of life as failures, disappointment, separation or death of the near and dear, etc. The ceremonial songs unfold even the minute, details of different ceremonies. Their conceptions or standards of beauty, modesty and propriety or that of obedience, hospitality or discipline can be well understood through the folk-songs, in their varying aspects and changing forms, though they themselves cannot express them. Rural ideals of a Guru, son, official or daughter-in-law can be better known through these songs. Their mental processes of feeling, thinking and willing can be well deduced from them. We can also know how they argue out a case, express an idea, or moralize over a thing.

Again it is in the folk songs only that the humble and the forgotten past lives. The heroic deeds of the local leaders or outstanding events of the locality always breathe alive through the folk-songs of that place.

In short, folk-songs constitute a treatise in song on rural conditions, as described by the villager himself. As such, a study of folk-songs is of vital importance to students of rural sociology. In fact, no study of rural society can be complete unless it includes a study of its folk-songs. In spite of such importance and usefulness the study of folk-songs had been a matter of neglect in India.¹

Who is the author of these songs.—A doubt is always expressed as to how the ignorant folk of the village can compose songs many of which are of exquisite beauty. Such sceptics should please witness a village funeral where they can see how women unlettered in poetic diction can mourn in a marvellously poetic manner. Similies and metaphors which they lavishly employ to describe off-hand the good deeds of the now dead, shall not fail to convince the onlooker that

1. It may be mentioned in this connection that Prof. G.S. Ghurye of the Bombay University deserves our congratulations for having initiated a study of folk-songs. Already under his guidance folk-songs of the Katkaris and the Warlis and those from Malwa, Mewar and Vindhya-Satpura valley, and Maharashtra are published.

village women do possess imagination and poetic talent. Similarly during marriage, when one party wants to crack jokes at the expense of the relatives, satires are composed *extempore*. Instances are not wanting of youths rhyming out a song on the spur of the moment when they want to praise or ridicule a girl passing by. It is a common thing that a novice failing to recollect a part of a song when occasion demands it any how completes it with a line of his own making. Thus every momentous occasion sees the birth of a new song. It is no mere hypothesis, then, to say that it is the rural people who are the authors of folk-songs.

How the folk-song undergoes changes.—Folk-songs are not like the works of classical poets which, printed as they are, can point out the mistakes if sung or written wrongly. If two persons sing a folk-song with a variation, judgment cannot be pronounced either in favour of the one or the other. In the case of folk-songs the medium of transmission is the mouth and the person to whom it is transmitted is the rural man who is never particular about precision. In the absence of books for reference this oral method permits folk-songs to undergo a change without being detected. The change may take place while teaching, learning or memorizing. The person who teaches sometimes finds that he has forgotten a part of the song, which he completes with his own substitutes. The learner when he cannot grasp the pronunciation or intonation, learns it in a manner that suits him. Thirdly, when the singer feels that a particular word or expression denoting an object or notion is not familiar to or no longer consistent with his natural or social environment, improves upon the song in a way he deems fit. Thus, as a folk-song travels from person to person, caste to caste, place to place, and generation to generation it gets its form, and not infrequently its meaning, changed in various ways which can be detailed as follows :—

(1) Words denoting the name of a person, place, fruit etc. are replaced by corresponding names that the singer is more conversant with. Here there is no change of meaning.

(2) A letter, accent or word changed thus changing the meaning e. g.

Chikki rumalada Dharmara | Hanimyaga
Akki kalasta harinama

The holy man has put on a *spotted*
 turban ; the sandal mark on the forehead
 is as small as a *rice particle*.

This is changed to

Chikka rumalada Dharmara Hanimyāga.
Hakki kalasta harinama.

The holy man has put on a *small turban* ; the sandal
 mark on his head is like the *foot of a bird*.

(3) The case is changed from nominative to vocative or
 vice versa.

(1) Ellavvaga hoguvaru ellu bella vayvaru
 Those going to Yellavva take.....
 This is changed to
 Ellavvaga hoguvaru ellu bella vayyiro
 You take to Yellavva.....

(4) Form of address changed :—

‘Raya’ ... dear,
 is changed to

‘geniya,’ ‘nalla,’ ‘bala’ etc., friend, darling, child etc.,

(5) When a word changed is relative to any other word
 or a line, the latter is changed for adjustment in meaning
 Malla pinjar hudagi.....

Hanchi maduvadu maretalo.

The credulous Pinjar girl has forgotten. *Carding*.
 is changed to

Malla jadar hudugi.....

Kandaki suttuvadu maretalo.

The weaver’s girl has forgotten *winding of thread*.

(6) When two or more states of things can be associated
 with a thing, one is replaced by the other.

Shivana Parvati rathaveri baruvaḡ

Bandantha moda bayalage.

When Shiva’s Parvati was coming in a chariot, the clouds
 withered.

The second line is replaced by
 Joda kai vadadena.....
 I broke two cocoanuts.

(7) When the same thing can be described in more than one way one description is replaced by another.

Classification of songs:—Folk-songs can be classified, according to the occasions of their singing, as follows, :—
 (1) grinding songs, (2) cart-driving or 'baluri' songs; (3) threshing or hanti songs. Each occasion has no particular set of songs: only the way of singing is different. As a matter of fact any folk-song can be sung with the necessary change in the tune.

Grinding songs are sung in the morning by women while grinding jowar. When two women grind both sing in chorus. Grinding songs contain less of sexual matters and usually refer to home, husband, children and parents. Most of the finer feelings of love, affection and friendship breathe through these songs.

Cart-driving songs can be heard in the evening when cultivators are seen returning from their field or at night when the villager is carrying the agricultural produce to a market. Many of these songs are meaningless. The singer raises the tune of the ending word of a line of the song to the highest pitch possible for him and for such a length of time as his breath can permit of, with the result that instead of the body of the song we hear only a continued and rising tune of
 "ō - ō - ō - - -"

Threshing songs are current just after reaping the crops and while threshing the ears. Usually the first part of the song is in the form of a question to be sung by the person who drives bullock round the threshing ground. The second part of the song is an answer to the question contained in the first part and is sung by the person who sits down in the threshing ground to feed the threshing device with ears of corn.

CHAPTER XV.

Some of the rural conceptions as described in folk-songs.

(1) G O D.

God is considered as the ordainer of human destiny. So man has to worship and adore Him if he wants to be in His good books. For that purpose an Infinite Being pervading the whole earth—who is thus all evasive—would not do. So there must be personal gods to be represented in stone or clay. Every village has numerous idol-gods; besides, most families have their own family deities. Some among these are considered more powerful. A few still acquire wide reputation. In course of time these localities become places of pilgrimages. Folksongs refer only to such gods of the reputed shrine or the powerful gods of the locality. On this side of Karnatak, Yellavva of Savdatti, Mayavva of Chinchali and Vithoba of Pandharpur hold their sway. Among the local gods, Shiva, Hanuman, and Basava command greater devotion.

(i) Nearly a third of the folk-songs pertaining to God contain simply a narration of mythological tit-bits like:—

1.

Harināma haṁhikōṇdu gopāla hāṁhikōṇdu
Nintāna nīra hoḷiyāg Hanumappā
Lankāda dāri kelyāna

¹With harinama on his forehead and a begging bowl in his hand, Hanuman is standing in the waters of a river and is inquiring the route to Lanka.

Many a time the singer is ignorant of the mythological facts and so, many of his songs border on mythological fiction.

1 Lines of sandal paste drawn vertically in parallels on the fore-head.

2.

Sitāna vayywāga srirāma saṇṇāvā
 Ag Hanumantā hasumago Tā huṭṭi
 Sitāna seriyā biḍisyāno.

Rama was still a boy when Sita was kidnapped.
 Hanuman was just born; later on he freed her
 from bondage.

3.

Hannanta hārīda hanneraḍu gāvada
 Tampattināg-baruvā suryāga Hārīdare
 Kaṇṇa kaḷakondyō kari hanmā.

Up sprang black Hanuman thirty-six miles
 towards the morning sun mistaking him for a fruit
 and in consequence got his eyes dazed.

(ii) Some other songs present a description of the temple or a part of it, the personality of the God inside and stray references to fairs and other festivities. Superlative degree is freely made use of in these songs. It appears from the songs that God has the same ordinary human behaviour but conducted in an extra-ordinary way. In the panegyric on Vithoba¹ the singer tries to enhance the greatness of God by trying to compare his powers with that of a man e. g. God Vithoba is standing continuously without fatigue or dozing : he hears 'bhajan' endlessly without loathsomeness.

(iii) There is again a class of songs which describes the miracles of God—instances of restoring the dead to life; becoming invisible; travelling with incredulous speed etc.

(iv) Most of the above songs are eulogies on God. It is to be remembered that this praise is not showered on Him for nothing. Human beings have their own limitations ; some of their wants always remain unsatisfied. Who else other than God can fulfil them ? It is their belief that :—

4.

Bangāra bavūli, gūngura gudalā
 Kollollyā iruvanō Hanumantā
 Bandavarige varavā koḍutane.

1 Vide Mallige Dande, page 12, by Kapse Revappa.

Hanuman or Kallolli ¹ having curly hair and a gold ear-ring confers boons on those who go to him.

After praise comes the prayer to bless them with fulfilment of their desires. The things prayed for, vary with the persons supplicating. But there are certain common things which are grievances shared in common by all the people.

A woman prays :—

5.

Satta hutṭāka-nille sayuva gandanā valle
Nechchiki paḍeda Gouravvā Ninnanthā
Muttōditānā koḍu nange.

“Oh beloved goddess Gouravva, when dead, I am not sure of re-birth. I do not want a mortal husband. Therefore, bestow on me an eternal ‘soubhagya’—a state of having a living husband—like that of yours.”

The following song contains a catalogue of all her demands :—

6

Ganda Magana beḍi bindāgi honnava beḍi
Gandaga āshava beḍi ghana beḍi || Rambī ||
Honṭālō paravātakkē

The woman has started on to the holy mountain² to pray for a male issue, a potful of gold, and a longer span of life to her husband.

Prayer to bestow leadership or mastery of a particular art is conspicuous by its absence.

Though every God has the power to confer anything upon His devotee which he is in want of, some Gods are considered as specialists in certain boons. When the all-rounder fails a specialist is approached.

1 Name of a village.

2 Some of the Lingayat temples are on mountains; one at Shrishailam in South India is very reputed.

7

Makkala beḍuvarā koppake hōgirō
 Koppada telaga hulkundā || Rāmaswāmi ||
 Makkala falavā kodūtāne.

Those praying for children, go to Koppa,¹ Next
 to Koppa is Hulkunda². Ramaswami of Hulkund
 blesses with children.

But the few who are well-off in every way, what can they
 ask for?—They simply request the God not to get angry with
 them or entreat Him to grant them emancipation or 'moksha'.

But some supplicants are diffident of their prayer
 being heeded. Therefore, they put forth inducements—they
 promise to make certain offerings on conditions that their
 desires are satisfied. Poorer people make an offer of flowers,
 'bilva-leaves' and 'tulsidal', but the richer ones promise
 costly things. A woman prays:—

8.

Bhendigeriya Basarā Gaṇḍa maganā koḍo
 Nana-gallā nanna rāyāga || Kottāre ||
 Balaka bangārā baḍisena.

Oh, Basava of Bendigeri,³ give me, nay to my
 Lord, a male child. If you do so, I will plate a
 side of yours with gold.

But each God has His own tastes. Each should be offered
 things liked most by him. The following song gives the
 things liked by Goddess Yellavva.

9.

Ellavvage hōguvāru eḷḷu bella vairō
 Mallige vayyirō turabige || Parashurāman ||
 Billige vayyirō biḍi-muttō.

Ye, bound for Ellavva's Temple, take sesamum
 and jaggery ; also take with you jasmine for her
 knot of hair and loose pearls for the bow of
 Parashurama.⁴

1.

2. Names of places,

3.

4. There is a temple of Parashurama near the temple of Yellavva on
 the hill of Savadatti.

Though all gods are worshipped, each individual always has one God whom he serves with greater devotion, A worshipper assures his God :—

10.

Ēḷutale nenadēna ēḷenṭu dēvarana
Ēḷu bāgiladā vaḍayānā || Kaḷḷoḷḷi Rangāna ||
Ēḷuva modalē nenadēna

“I may meditate upon seven or eight Gods after I get up in the morning, but I shall bow down to Ranga of Kallolli who is the Lord of seven doors, before I leave by bed.”

(2) **SWAMI** :—Lingayat community has a sort of monastic system. A monk who gets enthroned to the gadi—‘patta’ of a particular monastery — ‘math’, comes to be regarded as ‘swami’ or head of that math. Such monasteries can be met with all over Karnatak. The swami is revered by all without distinction of caste or religion. His position is considered to range somewhere between God and man — he is ordinary as also extra-ordinary. He is supernatural like God :—

11

Kyāmiya uḍuvanō kyāmiya toḍuvāno
Māvinī banaka malagyāno | Kempai-swami |
Māyanādāno martyākō.

Kempai Swami¹ dressed himself with clothes dyed with red ochre, slept under a mango grove and became invisible to mortals.

Again,

12.

Hāsagallinā melē haḍu-hoguvanārō
Pāda muḍāvō paripariyā | Kempai swāmi |
Hādu hogyānō jalakakkō.

Who has treaded on the stony pavement? The steps are imprinted in different ways; the Kempai Swami has gone over it for a bath.

1. Name of a swami.

2. All monks use reddish garments.

He can work wonders:—

13.

Babalādi apanavarā nele namage tiḷidillā
Nelimaneyāga avarā shiva pujoy | Āguvāga
Ākāshada gānti nuḍidāvō |

We have not yet come to know the greatness of
Babaladi Swami¹. When he was worshipping
Shiva in the cellar, bells were rung in heaven.

Like God, he too, can confer boons :—

14.

Bangālā hādili baruvā Kempāi swāmi
Banagāra māli māli uddo | Kempāi swāmi
Bandavarigē falavā koḍutānō.

Kempai swami who is coming by the Bengal road
blesses barren women with children. His golden
rosary is eighteen inches long.

There are innumerable other songs which describe his
dress, paraphernalia, position of maths and anecdotes connect-
ed with a swami or his math.

(3) PARENTAL HOME :—

Joys of parental home are best appreciated only when one
is deprived of them. The rural boy is rarely robbed of this
happiness in his life but the rural girl experiences the pangs
of separation on the next day of marriage. The mother any-
how tries to console her with these words :—

15.

Nāri kaṇṇina nira bāri bījada hānga
Bōryādatāva edimyāga | Nanna magaḷa |
Dūr illā hōga ninna tavāra.

The tears of the girl resembling the seeds of
jujube fruits are streaming down the breasts. My
daughter, you go now. Your parental house
is not far off.

The new wife soon becomes a victim of harassment.
Mother-in-law does not spare her though she over-works her-
self.

1. Swami of Babaladi math

16.

Attīya¹ maniyāg aravattu gangāla
 Belagatīna attī baibedā | Tavaravara |
 Saramutta mādi salavyāra.

Oh! mother-in-law, I am cleaning sixty pans in your house. Pray do not abuse me. Parents have brought me up fondly like a necklace of pearls.

She has also to suffer the torments of her husband's sister. The following song shows how unbearable these torments are:

17.

Haṇṇu² meṇashinakkāi kaṇṇige kempāge
 Saṇṇaki yēna nēgaṇṇi | Āki mātu |
 Beṇyāga muḷlu muridānga.

Ripe chillies appear red to the eye.³ Is my husband's sister still a small girl! Her words pierce me as sharply as a thorn pierces butter.

Husband's younger brother does not lag behind in torturing her. He is more harsh than the husband.

18.

Mārāyaru baidarē bārōva kaṇṇīru
 Mārāyara taṃma maidūnā | Baiṇāre |
 Māḍillada maleyu suridānga

Tears do not gush out when my husband abuses me. If his younger brother abuses, they pour down like rain without clouds.

She realizes fully well the warmth of her mother's affection when she is subjected to cold treatment in her husband's house. Probably the following are the outbursts of her feelings when she is in such a miserable plight.

19.

Hallu suliyali bēku viḷya melāyali bēku
 Mallige bēku turubige | Haḍedammā |
 Ni bēku nannā tāvārige.

1. and 2. Vide Garitiya Hadu.

3. It means, though ripe chillies appear red i. e. beautiful they are very pungent.

As teeth are necessary for tearing, betel leaves for chewing, jasmine flowers for the plait of hair, so are you, mother, indispensable for my parental, house.

20.

Byāsagi¹ divāsāka bevinā marā tampu
Bhimārati embo hoḷi tampū | Haḍedammā |
Nī tampū nanna tavarīge.

As neem tree in summer, and river named the Bhimarati² all the year round, so are you, always extending delightful coolness to my parental home.

She comes to regard her parental home a shrine of peace and happiness.

21. Kāsige hōgalaka ēsondu dinā beku

Tāsottinaga tavarūr | Maniyāga |
Kāshi kuntāḥ haḍedavvā.

What a long journey it is to Benaras! My parental home is but an hour's distance and there dwells my mother who is in fact Kashi, the Goddess of Benaras,

How she longs to go back to her mother now! Panchami or the fifth day of the month of Shravana is the occasion when the girl goes to her mother's. When none comes to take her there, she is much disappointed :-

22.

Nāriya manimunde nīrala giḍā huṭṭī
Eri nōḍyālō tavārūra | Panchāmi |
Miri hotentā alātālō.

Having seen the parental village from a 'Nirala' tree that had grown in front of her house, she is weeping that Panchami is past celebration.

She longs for only one thing :-

1. Vide garatiya hadu.

2. Reference is not known. It is also recited as Hemavati.

3. A kind of tree (eugenia jambolana).

23.

Jōlādā kichāḍige bhāla tuppā beka
 Biḷi-eliyāga uṇbeka | Tāvāramaniya |
 Bhāla dinā iddā barabeka.

I want to stay at my mother's house for many days and then return; there I would feast myself on jowar gruel flavoured with plenty of ghee and served on a banana leaf.

When that desire is satisfied, out of joy she sings :—

24.

Hālunḍa tavarige enandu hāḍale
 Hoḷe danḍaliruvā karakīya || kuḍiyānga ||
 Habbāli avarā rasāballi.

How shall I praise my parental house where I was fed with milk? May its creeper of sweetness spread like sprouts of Kusha grass which covers all the ground along the river.

She knows that she cannot enjoy such visits for ever A day comes when she has to weep :—

25*

Ungūra uḍidāra muridāre māḍisabahadu
 Maḍādi sattāre tarabāhodu || Haḍedanthā ||
 Tande tāyalli shikkāra.

If a waist-thread of gold or ring is broken it can be repaired. A new one can be brought if the wife dies. But how can the dead parents be got back?

Mother's death usually bangs the door of paternal house to her, because she thinks that :—

26*

Kāḍāga illāda kaiya karuṇa illāda purushā
 Haḍadavvā nildā tavārige || Hōḍāre ||
 Aḍavyāga vasti ilidānga.

Like a hand without bangles, like a man without kindness, is the parental home without the mother. To go there is to camp in a wilderness.

* Vide Garitiya Hadu.

(iv) **Marital Love :**

To the married woman husband is everything. She addresses him as, Parrot — *giṇirāyā*, darling — *nalla*, companion — *varigi purusha* ; head of the family — *mane purusha*, elderly person — *hiriya*, master — *raya* ; *sardar* — *sardara* ; king — *arasa* ; *dori* — reigning monarch or lord. He is the most handsome person to her :—

27

Vārigi rāyāna māriyā noḍidare
Hala kuḍidānga manadāga || Shērīnā ||
Bāvali iṭṭānga kiviyaṅga.

Sight of my husband face gives as much delight
as when milk is slipped or an ear-ring weighing a
seer is worn.

Even his moustaches attract her :—

28

.....
Saragi vankiya hāge tirigyāva rāyanā mīshi
Nōḍālu bahāla chaluvānō || ||

The moustaches of my husband are curved up
like ' vanki ' ¹ He is very handsome to look at.

She considers herself as a mere shadow of the husband.
She rejoices when he is in joy and forgets everything in his
company.

29*

Hanchi baṭṭinā mēle haridaḍu kumkūmā
Ichchullā rāyā edūrige || Kuntāre ||
Hechchinā tavaṛa maratena.

With ' kunkum ' sparkling on the tattoo mark
on the forehead, and with the loving husband in
front, I forget even my fond parental home.

Time is no matter of concern to the happy pair :—

30*

Ichchullā rāyāra pachchaṭōlina mēle
Bichyāḍi nammā vaḷamāta || Āḍuvāga ||
Padā bellachchi udayā moodyāva.

1 An arm-ornament which is curved in the middle.

* Ref. Janapada Sahitya.

Though the morning star had risen at day-break I had not finished talking love-matters reclining on the arms of my loving husband.

Even a temporary absence of the husband is unbearable to the wife :—

31

Jāchūli hachchida hallu jāpāla kāyahānge
Jātarige hōda rāyā baralillā || Indinā ||
Rātri hyānga kaleyānli.

The teeth that are blackened with tooth-powder are like the pods of japal tree.¹ My husband has not returned from the fair. How can I pass this night ?

Meals in his absence do not taste well.

32*

Yalakki kāya sulidu yāvaḍagi māḍāli
Urige hōgyāro rāyāru || || Barade ||
Yavaḍagi maḍi falavenu

What preparation can I make out of cardamum ? My husband has gone out. What is the use of my preparation unless he returns.

The same feelings — but in rare cases — are reciprocated by a loving husband.

33

Aḍagiya maniyāga maḍadiya suluvillā
Aḍagi bāyīgi ruchi illā || Haḍedavvā ||
Maḍadi tavarige hōgyāla.

The movements of the wife cannot be felt in the kitchen. Food does not taste well. Oh ! mothers' wife has gone to her mother's house.

When the husband has to leave on business to other places, the wife sometimes accompanies him to the outskirts of the village and with a heavy heart gives him a send off.

1. Ref. Garatiya Hadu.

* Simile is not clear.

34

Eri henṭi barigāla naḍuvā neggila muḷḷa
 Rāyā ninna kaḷuhi baruvāg || Kaṇṇīra ||
 Saṇṇa muttāgi suridāva.

Oh ! darling, tears showered in the form of tiny pearls while after wishing you good-bye, I was returning bare-footed along a path of black soil full of thorns.

He also shares her feelings :—

35*

Urige hōgavara māryāka bāḍyāva
 Gīrā gaṇḍhyāka bevatāva || Maḍādīna ||
 Biṭṭā hoṇṭāre para-nāḍa.

Why is the face of the person who has started on a journey, run down ? Why do the vertical sandal lines on the forehead appear sweated. Because he is leaving his wife.

How eagerly does she await his arrival ! In the following song is described the disappointment of a woman staying at her mother's when her husband who had promised to come to her does not arrive at the appointed hour :—

36

Nallā baratānanta valliṃyā neishyāla
 Nallāna avaravvā biḍālillā || Ā bāli ||
 Valliṃyā giḍakahāki alatāḷo.

She had got woven a shawl as her husband was to come. But his mother did not allow him to go. So the girl is lamenting having hung the shawl down a tree.

But life is no smooth-sailing. The praise of the husband is not so real as it is conventional. Moreover the proverbially faithful woman — ' pativrita ' who adores her husband, is an exception rather than a rule. Though marriage brings about

a union between the two, a sort of mental or intellectual separation still continues to persist. Now and then this makes itself felt through bickerings which form in fact a part of the routine of their family life. In such cases the wife also takes a bold stand. Here is a reply to the angry look of the husband :-

37

Baṭṭālā gaṇṇile diṭṭisi noḍyāra
Siṭṭyāko raya nanna myāga || Nā anthā ||
Sulyāduvara magalallā.

Why do you gaze at me with expanded eyes?
Why are you angry with me? I am not the
daughter of a layman who speaks lies.

Her tongue outruns her control when the husbands talks
ill about her parents. She retorts on such an occasion.

38

Nammavvāna baibēḍa hauhārida gaṇḍasā
Nimmavara koṭṭa terāvesta || Nāmmavva ||
Dharmāka dhāri ēradāle.

Don't abuse my mother, you senseless man.
What is the bride-price paid by you? My mother
has married me to you gratis.

She cannot tolerate when her husband seeks the company
of another woman.

39*

Elli hōgiddi rāyā shelyāka māsyāva
Allobbāla gūḍa saligiya || Nī māḍi ||
Illembudēnā nanṇa munde.

Where had you been, my lord? How is your
shawl soiled? Is it fair to deny before me when
you are having undue familiarity with another
woman?

A rural woman rarely lives with a husband who is too
weak to satisfy her lust. A woman complains about her weak
husband to her friend.

* Ref: Garatiya Hadu.

40*

Hāsida hāsige biṭṭu hādige malagyāro
 Sūsa gālige balakūvā || Rāyarige ||
 Ēsu bāri kālū hiḍiyāli.

He is sleeping on the floor leaving out the bed.
 For how many times can I fall at the feet of my
 husband (i. e. request)? He is so weak that he
 totters if breeze blows.

The bringing of a second wife by her husband is a thing
 the idea of which no woman can take coolly. As a precau-
 tionary measure she keeps on reminding her husband that :—

41.

Hanchi baṭṭina mele hachchidā kunkumā
 Haṇṇeno rāyā hārilāka || Kyādāgi ||
 gari enō rāyā vagilāka.

Is the ' kunkum ' applied¹ on the tattoo mark
 of the forehead, a fruit to be plucked aside ? Is
 it a blade of ' kyadagi '² flower (used for adorning
 the knot of hair) to be thrown away ?

When she catches the rumour that he is marrying again,
 she appeals to him.

42.

Angīya melāngi chchandeno giṇirāma
 Rāmbiya myale pratirambi || Bandāra ||
 chhandenō rāyā maniyāga.

Oh parrot, does it appear beautiful if one shirt
 is put on another ? Is it fair to bring a new wife
 when one is already in the house ?

She tries to impress that she is the best match for him.

* Ref. Garitiya hadu.

1. At the time of wedlock bride-groom marks the brow of the bride
 with ' kunkum '.

2. Kyadagi is known as ketaki (Pandarus odoratissimus Lin).

43.

Nakkare nanna hallu nakshyatra holedānga
kastōṣi nannā myāga kasabāragi || Taruvantha ||
Masalatāgyāvō maniyāga.

My teeth glitter like stars when I laugh, still
my husband is conspiring to marry another—as
bringing a broomstick in place of musk.

Then she suggests that second marriage is not fair.

44.

Hasiya gōdiya mele masi yār baradāra
Hasumagaḷa mele savatīya || Taruvantha ||
Masalatāgyāvō maniyāga.

Who will think of spilling ink on a wet wall ?
Plans are being hatched to bring a second wife
when such a young one is present.

Still, if a new wife is brought home, she becomes a target
of criticism.

45.

Taratīn taratīn antā torāgallā hālāyta
Taralillā rāyā maḍidīna || Bagalakoti ||
Hyāvākā tandā helavinnā.

The Torgal¹ state has gone in ruins since my
husband began to repeat his threats of bringing
a second wife. At last in repugnance to keep his
word, he has married a lame woman of Bagalkot.

It is not an easy thing for the husband to lead a happy
life with two wives. In such circumstances here is the advice
to the husband tendered by the first wife.

46.

Kāragīgi kaṇṇiṭṭā kempīgi manasiṭṭā
Ibbara gūḍa naḍetāna || Agōkintā ||
Hubbali munda hoḷi kuḍō.

His eye fell in love with a black girl and his
heart with a rosy one. Instead of living with
two wives at a time it is better to commit suicide
in a river beyond Hubli.

1. Name of a place near Bijapur.

(v) **EXTRA MARITAL LOVE** :—Introduction—Woman is considered an object of enjoyment. Mother and sisters are an exception to this. Sturdy passions of the villager hardly get satisfaction in the frame work of marital regulations of fidelity to one woman; they seek liberty which expresses itself as a yearning for the company of other women. Admiration and adoration of the lady-love are preliminaries to it; courting eloping or intimidating, outraging or kidnapping follow in the train. When thwarted in its objective, lust indulges in the vulgar criticism of the fair sex.

Rural conception of beauty :—Beauty is an abstract conception. The illiterate villager can describe it with reference to a beautiful woman or in similes of beautiful things. The following is an attempt to paint a rural belle by connecting together relevant expressions from different folk songs.

Padumajati henṇu ; rambheyā kūḍalu

Chogachīyā kayhānga; surali kūḍalu;

Tididā baitāla; turubina

Himbhāra; kyādagī turabā.

She belongs to padmini class—the best type of women. The hair of the damsel is as black as the seeds¹ of 'chogachi' crop; it is full of ringlets; the hair is well parted; heavy is the knot of hair behind; kyadagi feathers are set on the knot.

Kūdida kuḍi hubbū;

Bedarīda erali nōṭadā kaṇṇu

Eyebrows meet but narrow down at further ends; her eyes present the sight of a frightened deer.

Sulī halla; nakkare nanna halla

nakshyatra holedānga ;

Sampāgi hūvinanthā moogu.

Teeth are shining and twinkle like stars when she smiles. Her nose is as attractive as a 'sampagi'² flower.

1. Colour of the seeds is black.

2. Sampagi—champak flower.

Sompu mareyalāre swārad impu
Kogile samāna;
Nakkare tuṭigempu.

Her voice is as sweet as that of a cuckoo, the
charm of which cannot be forgotten. Her lips
appear reddish when she smiles.

Nimbi haṇṇināṅga tumbida
Kuchāgalu; attiya haṇṇināṅga
Vatti maliga bandu
Nadu saṇṇa.

Her breasts resemble lemons in their roundness.
They are swelling up like the 'atti' ¹ fruits. She,
has a slim waist.

Dress, ornaments and other make-up are essential to
enhance the natural beauty.

Jachūli hachchida hallu
Kaḍigi kaṇṇa
Gallāka arishiṇa
Hanchi baṭṭina kaiyya
Bayāg kempeli
Jamba nirala baḷiya.

Teeth are smeared with black tooth powder.
Black pigment is applied to the eyes. Turmeric
is applied to the cheeks. Arm is tattooed. She
is chewing red betel leaves. She has put on
bangles having the colour of 'neral' fruits,

Dress :—

Ellu huvina, uddina kannina,
Jolad kannina sīri;
Bali pattina sīri;
Turabhada myela tudi sherago.

She is dressed in a sari full of designs resembling
the flowers of sesamum; of jowar; of pulses. It
has borders of banana colour. The end of
the sari hangs loose over the knot of hair.

Tiṭi tiṭi kubbasa, bāgidare bigadīta
Maggi maḍisyāla edimyāga |

She has worn a short bodice which constricts the
body when bent; she has embroidered flowers on
that part which covers her breasts.

Ornaments.

Vajra hachchida vali;
Gejji hachchida pille;
Muguti mumbhar
Nadu patti vadyana.

She has ear ornaments studded with diamonds,
toe-ornaments with bells; heavy nose ornament
and a belt round the waist.

A debauchee tries only for a woman who is in search of a
lover. He is an expert in reading woman's desire from her
behaviour. Here is a description of how a love-sick girl be-
haves.

47.

Haḷḷada dandyaḡa kusubi beḷedāva jolla
Gallāda mēle kiri bellā | Itakonḍu |
Nirīna guḍā naguvaḷō.

Luxuriant is the growth of safflower crop on the
banks of the river. She is smiling at the water
with her finger resting against her cheek.

Does this not show that the woman is dis-satisfied with
her lover?

48.

Kumbāḷa būvina siri kuṇa-kuṇada vagivaḷō
Gaṇḍa nilleno ivaḷige | Gudadagina |
Gaṇḍēli baṇṇa tirugaito.

Sportively she is washing her sari having designs
like flowers of a gourd. Has she no husband?—
Her face presents a reddish appearance to be
seen only in a young deer.

The lover takes care lest he be ensnared by an ugly
woman because :—

49.

Huṇashīya giḍadāga huḷa bandu ḷadānga
 Hulāka māriyavāḷa geṇitāna | Maḍidāre
 Huragādlyāg haḷḷa kadisyālā.

Friendship with a girl of an ugly face is like settling down of a worm in a tamarind tree ; for she would offer fried grams full of pebbles.

Success in the love-affair brings about a change in the behaviour of the lover.

50.

Gandhāna hachchāno gālige nilvāno
 Vandondū heḷi naguvāno | Eḷi huḍūga |
 Gandhā gamāneru valadāro.

It seems that damsels have responded to his advances. For, he has applied sandal to his body and is airing himself ; he laughs every now and then while talking.

If the girl is in love with the boy, the latter can hope to get other things besides her company.

51.

Joḷada kaṇṇina siri joḷada chaḷa tumbā
 Mātāḍadavaḷa geṇitāna | Maḍidāre |
 Āturada hāla kuḍishyāḷo.

If you are being loved by that girl who is reserved and whose sari of jowar designs is aflown partly in the air, you would be given milk.

But when he proposes, she demands many things.

52.

Pattāra mani munda attattā heḷuvāḷo
 Nattā mādīsi koda nanāge | Nanna geṇiyā |
 Attiya manige hogi barateni.

With sobs she is entreating in front of the gold smith's house, " Oh dear, order a nose ornament for me. I shall go to my mother-in-law and be back soon."

The lover cannot go to his lady at any time he likes. He usually visits her in the dark. Even moonlight is a hindrance to them. She tells him.

53.

Kariyā gongādi horuvādu beḍo
Beḷadingālali baruvādu beḍo | Nanna geṇiyā |
Kallāna mādi kadivāro.

Do not come to me in moon-light masqueraded
in a black blanket ; for, you shall be mistaken for
a thief and killed.

So they conveniently meet each other somewhere outside
the village—probably near a shrine.

54.

Ellavvāna guḍḍadāga ellidyo nanna geṇiyā
Kallinantavo karigāḍabu | Kaṭākonḍu |
Guḍḍa guḍḍellā huḍakenō.

Where were you on Yellavva's hill, Oh ! dear ? I
searched every where with 'karigadabus' which
were as hard as stones.

Note the dis-appointment when the lover does not arrive
at the appointed hour.

55.

Holiḡe madyāle māliḡe eryāle
Yāleda geṇiyā baralillā | Ā bāli |
Hori mundittā aḷatalō.

She was ready on the upper storey of her house
with 'holige' cakes, but the lover did not turn
up at the appointed time. So she is weeping
having kept the dish before a bull.

Equally great is the dis-appointment when the lovers are
disturbed in their enjoyment.

56

Kōli kugyāva tanna yālēda hottiḡe
Nāriya maniyāga dori māgo | Kutakonḍa
Kōliya gōṇa muriyandā.

The prince ordered from the house of his lady-love that cocks be be-headed when he heard them crowing at their usual time at daybreak.

Note:—Usually it is men who sing all these love songs. Still curiously enough, we find that in all these songs a lady love addresses her lover and not vice versa. Description is characterized by freedom which seems to over-ride all moral rules — this feature is representative of the sex that sings them. As opposed to this, we notice in songs sung by females a reserve in expression, a balance in characterization, and a fair discretion in the use of words.

(vi) Love of children.

The married woman quite satisfied with her husband and her relatives desires only for :—

57.

Uppāragi mani bēku koppāragi honnabeku
Krishna devāranthā maga-beku || Namma manige ||
Rukminianthā sosi beku.

“ A storeyed building, a pan-full of gold, a son like God Krishna ; a daughter-in-law like Rukmini in the house. ”

She considers her married life incomplete unless she has a child ; for,

58.

Makkāḷilladā Janma iddenā toṭṭenā
Etta bhaḍīgi duḍadāṅ | Baḷi eliyā
Haṣunḍa bīsi vagedāṅga.

“ Of what avail is a childless life ? — it is like that of a bullock that works on hire system ; like that of a banana leaf that is thrown aside when once it is used for dining.

The house of such a woman is deserted as it were, because:—

59.

Banje bāgila munde bangār valakallā
Banda kuttāka sosi illā | Māhānāmi
Banni muḍilāka magānillā,

“ There is a hollow set in gold meant for pounding, but there is no daughter-in-law to pound in that hollow standing in front of a barren woman's house ; and no son to give Shami leaves in ‘ Dasara ’ ¹

If a child is not born within few years of marriage she begins praying God. She does not mind spending for it.

60.

Makkāḷa bedina rokkada sūri mādi
Appā kollōḷēppānā pavalyāga | Pālki myela |
Muṭṭa harīsi manege baruvena.

I would pray for children and would not grudge spending money. I shall return having scattered jewels on the palanquin of God of Kollolli when it is taken through the corridor of the temple.

It is to be specially noted that child prayed for is invariably a male issue. On account of the patriarchal system only a boy when grown up is expected to support the parents in the declining age ; whereas a girl is only to be brought up to have the following experience at the proper time.

61.

Heṇṇā makkāḷa saluhi kaṇṇige nīru tandā
Saṇṇā selledale muṣukhāki | Haḍedappā |
Heṇṇu sakendā janumāka.

Having given a send off to his daughter, the father with a small head-covering drawn over him sighs with tears, “ No more daughters.”

Therefore, at least the husband believes that : —

62.

Heṇṇu huṭṭida mani heggaṇa haṭṭidāṅ
Gaṇḍāsa maga gajā-bhīma || Huṭṭidare ||
Chilaka chittāra nagatāva.

¹ During the Dasara festival the son is to give shami leaves to his mother as a mark of respect. Vide chapter on Religious life.

A house where a girl is born is like one that is haunted by rabbits. If a boy like Bhima strong as an elephant is born even pictures hung on the wall smile.

He will never welcome the birth of a girl. The wife who knows this, tells her relatives when she has delivered a girl at her mother's :—

63.*

Heṇṇu hutyaiddanta heḷi kaḷuhalu beda
Hennāndaravaru hedaryāra

Don't send a word that a girl is born; Because
he (i. e. husband) may get frightened.
But to the mother,

— — | Kandavvā

Hennallā nanage ravi chinnā.

The babe is not a girl but a piece of gold.
Whatever may be the sex of the babe, it brings
joy to the mother. A woman who has a child has
no more desires but only .—

64.

Hiriyāra puṇyadindā ettemme kaṭṭina
Toṭṭilā kaṭṭina naḍumani | Kandammā |
Ninninda hottā gaḷadina.

To while away time in your company, Oh ! child.
Through the meritorious deeds of elders I own
cattle and cradle is rocking, in the middle of
the house.

The child appears beautiful to the mother.

65.

Aḷuva kandāna tuṭiyu havaḷada kuḍiyānge
Kuḍi hubbu bevina esaḷanga | Kaṇṇōta |
Shivana kaielāgu hoḷedānga.

The lips of the weeping child appear like corals.
The eyebrows that have narrowed at end are like
the petals of neem leaves. His sight is radiant
like the sword in Shiva's hand.

66.

Toṭṭiladāgondu toledā muttinā kanḍe
Hoṭṭi melāgi malagyāne |

I saw a pearl jewel in the cradle—it is my babe
lying on its back.

So she hurries to guard the babe against the evil eye.

... .. | Kandaga |
Bevina dristi tegdena

... .. Kaṭṭidā navilā garigōḷa.

I will ward off the evil eye with neem leaves¹ and
will tie peacock feathers to the cradle.

Mother takes care to make her child appear more attractive
with dress and ornaments.

67.

Araḷele bekavva beraḷig ungūra beku
Koraḷige beku asāliya | Kandāna |
Kalige beku kiri-gejji.

The boy requires ornaments ; arabli (of the form
of a fig leaf) to cover the privy, a ring for the
figures, a necklace for his neck and small bells to
his feet.

68.

Hasarangi toḍisida halkaḍagā iḍisida
Haḷḷāka nīnu barabeḍā | Nanna bālā |
Beḷḷakki hindu bedaryāva.

I have put a green coat on the body and bangles
on your feet, my child, don't come to the river-
side lest the ' bellakki ' ² birds may get frightened.

But when the babe begins to babble it begins to trouble the
mother for various things—even for the impossible.

69.

Kandāna³ kiri kīri indenu heḷāli
Bindīgi hālu suruvendā | Senjiya |
Chandramanā tandu nilisenda |

1 For measures against the evil eye vide Chapter on Religious Life.

2 A kind of birds having the appearance of sparrows.

3 Vide Garatiya Hadu.

What can I tell about the naughty ways of the child? Today he insisted on a potful of milk being spilt; and asked for the evening moon to be brought to him.

If his demands are not satisfied he plays mischief.

70.

Hāla¹-bedi attāna; kōlu bedi kuṇḍāna
Masaru bedi kesara tuḷidāna | Kandāna |
Kusurād gejjī kesarāgi.

He wept asking for milk; clamoured for a stick and trample mud asking for curds; the bells of the leg ornament have become muddy.

Mother fondles the child for all his naughty ways.

71.

Attare alalevvā i kūsu nanagīrali
Keṭṭare kedali mani-kelasā | Kandananthā
Makkaḷirelavva manitumbā.

Let him weep. I want this child for me. Let the domestic work suffer; but may the house teem with children like my boy!

Mother knows well how to handle a naughty babe.

72.

Kandammā kadidare tandena angāḷake
Chandirāna nōdō nanna kandā | Adarāna
Ganderaḷi mariyā hidatārō.

I shall bring him to the court yard if he gives me trouble. "Oh child, look at the moon over there and bring back a young hind from the moon land."

Still if he does not remain silent she has a way of silencing him.

73.

Attāna kāḍyāna mattenā bedyāna
Metta-mettāna dhimukāva | Koṭṭār
Gappu chippāgi malagyāna.

He is crying and troubling ; what else does he
want ? If he is given soft sweetmeat ' dhimuka '
he shall sleep without a murmur.

Here is another way of silencing him.

74.

Lāliya hādidare lālīshi kelyāna
Hāla hambāla maretāna | Kandayyā
Tōḷa bedyāna tale dimbā.

Had a lullaby been sung, he listened with pleasure
and may forget his desire for milk. My child may
ask for the arm to be used as a pillow.

Some boys are such that they cannot be managed.

75.

Oṇyāga avachāri manyāga ripigedi
Āduvādalli kidigedi | Baḷāna
Hyānga sambālisāli hadedavvā.

How can I manage my boy ?—He is naughty in
the street, fastidious at home and a bellicose in
play.

Whatever may be the nature of the child the only wish
of the mother is thus expressed :—

76.

Ellāre iralavvā hullāgi beḷeyāli
Nella badyāgi chigayāli | Kandayyā
Jayavantanāgi beḷeyāli.

My boy may live any where—but may he grow
like grass ; may he sprout (prosper) in all respects.
May my boy shine (in the world) through the
attainment of victory.

CHAPTER XVI

Effects of war on Rural Economic Life

Scope of the chapter :—It is pointed out in the Introductory Note that the statistical data in this book was collected in 1940. Five years have elapsed since the collection of this data. The period though short happens to be one of the most eventful periods in the history of India. The changes created by war during this period have been as momentous and revolutionary as they have been sudden and unexpected. They have vitally affected every aspect of rural life and have changed it in some respects almost beyond recognition. The effects of war on rural economy would constitute by themselves a separate study. An attempt, however, is made in the following few pages to indicate in broad outline the general effects of such war-time changes.

Rise in prices :—An important feature of this war period is the sudden and steep rise in prices of all commodities. A statement showing prices of a few important commodities as on 1-1-1940 and on 1-1-1945 is given at the close of the chapter. It indicates the extent of the rise in prices during this period. The rise, however, has not been regular nor uniform for all commodities. Broadly speaking there was no appreciable rise till the middle of 1941. It was in 1942 that prices began to rise abnormally and reached their maximum height in 1943. By January 1943, the general index of retail prices of food-stuffs was well over 220, if the prices of August, 1939 were taken as a base. The famine of 1942-43 in Bijapur District had its repercussions on the prices of the food-stuffs in Gokak Taluka. For some time during 1943, the prices of food stuffs had gone beyond 450 per cent. In the case of certain commodities like Gul the prices rose by 300 per cent. The prices of manufactured articles had out-paced those of agricultural commodities. Though the general rise was about 300 per cent, the prices of certain articles such as cloth had risen by 6 to 10 times ! This rise continued till the end of 1943 when

the Government had to adopt price control measures more rigorously.

Control Measures :—Though the Central Government made a beginning with price control and other alike measures almost with the outbreak of war, rural life in India was unaware of these controls till 1942. With the entry of Japan on the side of the Axis Powers the whole scene in the Eastern theatres became at once piquant and dangerous. India was turned into the Chief Supply Base and the Arsenal of the East. The loss of the East Indies and Burma had its sudden violent reactions on the life of the people in this country. The prices shot up suddenly to unprecedented heights and dislocated the whole of rural as well as urban life. A state of scarcity prevailed every where coupled with difficulties of transport and movement of goods. There was mal-distribution of goods every where and the situation was further aggravated by hoardings, black marketing and profiteering. To add to these difficulties, the adjoining district of Bijapur had one of the worst famines visiting it in 1942-43. The situation would have been worse than that of Bengal, but thanks to the bold and prompt measures of relief by the Bombay Government, it was skilfully saved. But this had its reactions on the Gokak Taluka. Petty traders indulged in excessive profiteering especially in commodities like sugar, kerosene, cloth and millets. The Government had naturally to run to the rescue of poor consumers by adopting stricter measures in the movements of goods and rigid enforcement of price controls. A beginning was made by controlling the prices of kerosene and sugar and arranging for their distribution. A certain measure of success attended these efforts as Government could control both production and distribution of these commodities at the source. But when the Government tried to help the consumer by fixing the prices of food-stuffs, over the production of which it had no control, it found out the limitations of fixing ceiling prices.

Every attempt of the Government to fix up the ceiling prices and to restrict movements of goods tended indirectly to encourage hoarding and to develop black markets. It was

soon realised that mere fixation of ceilings had no value unless the Government had stocks to sell at those prices. In 1943, therefore, they decided to make purchases on a small scale with a view to release them through fair-price shops. This step, however, was found inadequate as it could give no substantial relief to the consumers. But the experiences gathered were helpful enough to develop a scheme of Government monopoly of purchase of cereals and their distribution in 1944. The purchases of cereals are at present made by the Government as per the Levy Scheme which has made it compulsory for every cultivator growing more than 2½ maunds to sell his produce to the Government as per a graded scale. Grains are distributed to non-producing consumers through ration shops in urban areas and distribution centres in rural areas.

Though cereals were the first to be brought under control order after Kerosene and Sugar, the Government had to take measures to control manufactured goods as well. To bring down the price of cloth and to make cheap cloth available, the idea of standard cloth was mooted in the third Price Control Conference held in October, 1941, but the release of the standard cloth was delayed till 1943. The consumers did not welcome this cloth to the extent the Government had hoped. During 1944 the Government made compulsory the stamping of the wholesale and retail prices on cloth at the source and introduced a system of license for sale. The Government had also to control articles entering into the cost of production like manure, iron, etc. and arrange for distribution. The Government had thus to control the production, movement and distribution of one commodity with or after another in some form or other.

At present most of the commodities produced and consumed in rural areas are controlled in one form or other and are subject to either schemes of Government-purchase and distribution or of price fixation and rationing. The economic life of the rural masses is thus controlled by these control measures and orders.

Effect on Rural Wealth :—The general rise in prices affected also the constituents of the wealth of rural people. Land was the first to respond to this sort of rise. A few cultivators and the traders who had earned abundantly were at a loss to know regarding the investment of their earnings. The ignorant and illiterate masses were first sceptical about the stability of the Government. The war had not yet swung definitely in favour of the Allies. The political agitation against the Government was afoot. The people with cash felt that the currency notes in their possession had the danger of being turned into scraps of paper, if the Axis Powers won the war. The investments in Government securities were considered by them equally risky. They were also not very confident about the future of the Banking Institutions. The question before them was not one of investment as the term is understood in business parlance, but was one of keeping their earnings safe. They thought that purchase of land or gold was the best way of doing it. Buying of land was considered safer than that of gold as there was no danger of land being stolen away like gold. So in 1942 and 1943, there was a craze for the purchase of land. At a time when every body having money wanted to buy land, those owning lands thought, for the same reasons, that they would be fools if they sold what they had. Thus when there were many to buy, there were not many to sell. The result was, an abnormal rise in the price of land and only those who were hopelessly needy were induced to sell. The prices of land increased by 400 per cent. for some time, though at present the rise in prices is 250 per cent. in the case of dry crop land and 300 per cent. in the case of irrigated land. In individual transactions even fancy prices were paid. The rise in prices was out of all proportion to the profit earning capacity of the amount spent on the purchases. In fact, buyers never thought for a while what their investments would yield or what amount they would get back if they were to dispose it off, after a few years. In spite of the huge increase in the price of land, it is significant to note that there was not any wholesale transfer of land from the land-owning class to the capitalist class, as the former did not part with their land for reasons already stated.

It does not seem that the cultivating owners as a class have increased their area of owned land, by more than 5 per cent. and the traders by more than 10 per cent. at the expense of the labourers, the artisans and the servants who must have lost 5-10 per cent of their land.

Prices of livestock rose like those of land but not as suddenly. Among the many causes, slaughter-house was partly responsible for the rise in prices of cattle. Increased demand for milk and its products tended to increase the price of a she-buffalo by nearly 500 p. c. Pressing demand for mutton raised the price of a goat by more than 500 per cent. The price of bulls rose by 400 per cent. though in individual cases, a price equal to 6-7 times the prewar rate came to be paid. The increase in the price of livestock in general can be taken as 300 p. c. When the prices began to rise, the existing livestock appreciated in value. As livestock to the rural man in a sort of reserve fund, the value of the reserve increased. The owner of livestock could draw, for some time, upon this reserve with a smiling face by selling a bull or a goat for a large amount. Soon he realized that he could not replenish his reserve by buying a bull or buffalo. When he thought of buying he found that the prices were beyond his reach. Therefore, he had to keep himself satisfied with fewer number of livestock. So the wealth in livestock did not increase in proportion to rise in prices.

Though the value of houses increased by 200 per cent. there was nothing remarkable about it. There were neither sales of the existing houses nor building of new ones on a large scale. There was also no remarkable change in the wealth of the rural people in utensils. Nobody, however, went in for purchases of new utensils of metal.

It is difficult to estimate the effect of war on the savings of the rural people. With the labourers, artisans not receiving dues, menial and mill servants and the Harijans, there was no question of savings as their earnings were inadequate to eke out a livelihood. It was only a section of cultivating owners, the traders, and a few others who had

surplus earnings. Most of these people went in for the purchase of land and a few others purchased gold even when the price of gold was very high. Though the number of people who purchased gold cannot be called a small one, the percentage of these people to the total population is not considerable. A few persons who had saved in cash used it for performing the marriages of some members of their family during 1943 or 1944. Most of these who had savings in cash in 1944 had to spend it on the cultivation of land the cost of which had gone very high. It can be presumed that at present only a negligibly small number of people in rural areas with the exception of the traders have savings in cash worth the name.

Cost of production :—The cost of production of the cultivator had not been affected till 1942. When the prices suddenly increased in 1942 and the cost of production was the same in 1941, the producer had a windfall profit. All producers got a share in the profits according to the kind of the crop they raised and the area of land owned by them. The producers of gul and ground-nut and of wheat to some extent, got a greater margin than others. During 1942, though the cost of production increased, it did not increase in proportion to the prices of agricultural commodities. So the producers got good profits in 1943 also though they were not to the same extent as in the previous year. The ceiling prices fixed for cereals by the Government were also very favourable to the producer. But the high prices of commodities had increased the cost of living. The wage-earners had begun their clamour for increase in wages in 1941 only. In 1942, the wages had to be increased from Annas 4 a day to Annas 8 per day. Towards the end of 1942, and in 1943, the prices of producers goods increased sharply and suddenly. By the end of 1943, the wages had shot up to Rs. 1-8-0 per day in the irrigated region. The value of livestock went up by 300-400 per cent. Prices of manure also rose by 250 per cent. Fodder had increased in price by nearly 350 per cent. Iron was also going up. Prices of implements like plough, pick-axe, etc. had become prohibitive. A wooden cart which did not cost

more than Rs. 50/- required Rs. 200/-. The leather mot or the water drawing apparatus had gone up in price by 300 per cent. All the articles entering into the cost of production like manure, seed, labour, implements, and livestock had increased by more than 200 per cent. in price before 1944. In 1943, the Government fixed the ceiling prices of cereals but it did not control the producers' goods. Without adequate control by Government, the producers' goods were going up in prices. Along side with the increasing cost in production, the producer had to face the increasing cost of living also. In 1944, when the producer was engrossed in the solution of his difficulties, the Government fixed up the prices of cereals and took over the monopoly for purchases. The Government fixed prices for cereals in such a way that they should be remunerative to the producer and it is so, to take a broad view of the matter. But in individual cases and in particular areas the cultivation of bajri and jowar by the average cultivator owning 5-10 acres of land has ceased to be a paying one. It is not possible for this cultivator to buy a pair of bullocks costing about Rs. 800! Then he cannot possibly maintain them. Thirdly, agriculture is a means of subsistence. Returns from land should not only cover the cost of production but also support the family of the cultivator. The majority of the cultivators growing dry crops find on account of the high cost of cultivation that much is not left behind to feed the family. In this sense, agriculture in the dry tract has become less paying than what it was before was 1940. It is also true to some extent in the case of irrigated tract. The Government tried to control the prices of manure and iron without controlling their production. The result was that both these articles went into the black-market and the measures which were intended to give relief to the cultivator caused them more hardship for some time. From 1944, the Government has begun to supply manure and iron at controlled rates. But nothing has been done to control the prices of livestock and labour. So even in the case of most of the irrigated crops, the cultivation has ceased to be as remunerative as it was before 1940.

Rural Income :—The cultivating owners had a large income from land during 1942 and 1943. As cost of production kept pace with prices, thereafter, the income from land was not as large as it was before. Livestock as a side occupation added substantially to the family income. Plying carts for hire formed a lucrative business. This business was done on a large scale by tenants. But tenants in general could not improve their income like the cultivating owners, as rents were increased by land-lords as the prices rose. The servants class and the wage earners were the worst sufferers. The wages of a labourer were Annas 3 per day in the dry tract and Annas 5 in the irrigated tract in 1940. The wages lagged behind the prices till 1942. Now, wages have increased substantially. In short, it is the producers class that got some advantage of war, for two years. But in the rural population, the producers worth the name do not form more than 30 per cent. of the population. From table No. 15 given in the appendices it can be seen that 26 per cent. of the families have no lands at all; 32 per cent. have a holding of 1-5 acres. 72 per cent. of the families have a holding of less than 10 acres. It can be assumed that 27 per cent. of the families of the rural area owning more than 10 acres had the advantage of high prices. The percentage is 61 among the cultivating owners, 17 among tenants, 13 among traders, 15 among artisans, 8 among labourers and 2 per cent. among Harijans,

Among the producers it is the irrigators who got the lion's share in the war-time profits. The producers of bajri or jowar could not get windfall gains. Only the growers of money crops like gul, groundnut, gram, tobacco, and wheat and cotton to some extent could get a good return. From statement No. 5 on page 23 it can be seen that jowar covers an area of 30 per cent. and bajri an area of 22 cent. of the net cropped area. On the other hand, area under sugar-cane is not even 1 per cent. and that under tobacco and groundnut is 4 per cent. The area under wheat is less than 10 per cent. The total area under irrigated crops is only 5.5 per cent. It may be assumed that not more than 20 per cent. of the net cropped area grew commodities which were definitely paying to the

producer. In other words, nearly 80 per cent. of the cultivated land did not give returns to the producer on any substantial scale.

Traders who form 6 per cent. of the rural families were the luckiest. The ever rising high prices with an opportunity for black market and profiteering enabled them to amass wealth on a large scale.

War gave the artisans like the weavers full time work. Though they could not lay back anything, they could somehow make both ends meet.

On account of the inflated prices, there has been an increase of about 275 per cent. in the average per capita income. This increase is about 325 per cent. in the case of cultivating owners and 500 per cent. in the case of traders. Tenants and artisans could not improve their income. The labourers after 1943, have increased their income by 400 per cent. It can be supposed that about 30 per cent. of the families could well improve their income.

Rural Expenditure :—74 per cent. of the rural families own land and most of them cultivate their lands. So 74 per cent. of the families get some grain from their lands. But 32 per cent. of the families owning less than 6 acres cannot be supposed to grow foodstuffs adequate to feed the family. The other 15 per cent. of the families owning 5-10 acres cannot get from their lands all the grain that they need. It would be fair to suppose that most of 27 per cent. of the families owning more than 10 acres are self-sufficient in respect of foodgrains. 14 per cent. of the families owning more than 20 acres may be supposed as growing surplus grain. In other words more than 73 per cent. of the families have to depend upon about 14 per cent. of the families for grain for a varying period of time. Labourers got grain in the form of wages and the hereditary artisans received it in the form of dues. Rural families made good their deficit in grain requirements by making purchases in weekly bazars and by borrowing in kind during the rainy season. When prices began to rise,

landlords insisted on payments to labourers in cash and discontinued lendings in kind. Thus all families which were short of grain had to buy grain at high rates that were prevailing, with the result that the expenditure on staple food increased. A good portion of the income was spent on grains. Next to food was cloth which had also gone very high in prices. Clothes accounted for a large expenditure. As tea-drinking had become a habit it could not be shaken off and money had to be spent on it. Tobacco also could not be eschewed and money had to be found for it also. Thereafter much was not left out for other things. Strict economy had to be applied to the use of other things. Even the big producers who had not to worry about their food, realised that the cost of other articles like cloth, sugar, rice, etc. had become prohibitive.

The per capita expenditure has increased by about 300 per cent in the course of 5 years. This increase is higher in the case of non-producing class who have to buy jowar at 4 times the price of 1940. As food accounts for 50 per cent of the total expenditure, the percentage increase in the per capita expenditure in the case of the labourers, artisans and salary earners is 350. With the cultivating owners and the tenants, the increase can be taken as 275 per cent. With the traders and superior servants who keep up a higher standard of life, the increase is about 400 per cent.

Rural Consumption :—The increase in the figures of income and expenditure should not lead us to believe that there has been a corresponding rise in the standard of living. On the other hand, the prevailing high prices have curtailed the consumption in general and abstention in the case of some articles. Dairy products have definitely disappeared from the dining plate of the rural people. Vegetables are consumed on occasions only. Sugar and rice are a luxury. Mutton has become a rarity. Spices are used with economy and oils are not made liberal use of : Sweets and sweetmeats are consumed on a restricted scale. Cloth is used sparingly. It can, therefore, be assumed that the total consumption in rural areas has gone down by at least 20 per cent during these five years.

There had been also a deterioration in the quality of things consumed. While there has been a general reduction in consumption, the use of stimulants and intoxicants has increased.

Reduction in consumption has enabled 30 per cent of the families to make both their ends meet. Nearly 40 per cent of the families find themselves with deficit budgets in spite of reduced consumption. The percentage of families with deficit budgets is the largest among the Harijans, artisans and salary earners. Attempts are made by the rural masses to meet these deficits either by borrowings on a small scale or by exhausting their existing reserves. For instance, it is not uncommon to see people in rural areas ordinarily using better clothes meant for ceremonial occasions. This is likely to create a false impression that the standard of life has risen. On the contrary, it is a clear indication that the old stocks and reserves are being exhausted as the new ones could not be bought at prohibitive prices.

Indebtedness :—The high prices of agricultural produce and the appreciation in the value of land enabled the debtor to free himself from indebtedness. But only the cultivating owners had this advantage. The cultivators of the irrigated tract could pay off the debt out of the sale proceeds of their produce whereas the cultivators of the non-irrigated tract who could not get an equally high price for their produce had to sell off a part of their land to repay the debt. Even among the cultivators, all did not avail themselves of the war conditions to pay off their debts in 1942 or 1943. Some spent on marriages. Many squandered away what they had earned in anticipation of similar rise in prices the next year. But to their disappointment they noticed that cost of production had kept pace with prices. Some of the cultivators had to incur debts for buying bulls or purchasing manure. Regarding other classes, they could not save at all to repay their debts; on the other hand many of their families had to borrow to make their both ends meet. Though there has been reduction in indebtedness during 1942 and 1943, it should not be supposed that indebtedness has been liquidated. The reduction has not been on a scale which is generally

presumed. Reduction has occurred mostly in the case of cultivating owners who do not constitute more than 25 per cent of the rural population. Even in this class it seems that there has been more of liquefaction of debt than of its liquidation. The creditors did not press for repayment in 1943 and satisfied themselves with the payment of interest and renewal of a bond for principal. After 1943 many of the cultivators had to borrow and as on a larger scale. If Agricultural Co-operative Credit Societies be supposed to represent the land owning class, statistics regarding loan operations of these societies of Gokak Taluka can be quoted in support of the above statement that indebtedness has not been substantially reduced. The percentage of overdues was 49 and loan per member was 80 in 1940. In 1944 also, the loan per member was unchanged at 80 and the percentage of overdues was as high as 43.

Conclusion :—Effects of war have not been all conducive to the happiness of rural people. In the initial period of 1942-43 when the prices of agricultural commodities suddenly shot up, the producers in general welcomed war as a blessing in disguise. The bigger producers who do not form more than 25 per cent of the rural families got wind fall profits. A lion's share in these profits was received by a handful of cultivators who grew commercial crops for the market on an area which does not exceed 5.5 per cent of the net cropped area. These persons who had made fortunes out of war time prices, used their earnings in the purchase of land and gold or on marriage ceremonies and social functions. The large returns from agricultural produce, and the high prices of land enabled the bigger producers to pay off their debts from their earnings and the smaller ones by disposal of their land. The traders who got ample opportunities for profiteering and black marketing greeted war as a harbinger of fortune. But the entire class which was benefitted by the war time boom of 1942 and 1943 did not exceed 30 per cent. of the total population. To the rural masses consisting of agricultural labourers, menials, salary earners, petty producers of the dry tract, Harijans, artisans not receiving dues,

small tenants and others who account for 70 per cent of the population, the war ushered in an era of misery, privations, and scarcity. With them, expenditure increased faster than income. The average per capita income has increased from Rs. 38/- in 1940 to Rs. 104/- in 1945. This increase of 275 per cent which seems so substantial has been offset by the cost of living which has gone up by 300 per cent. Though the per capita expenditure has increased from Rs. 33/- in 1940 to Rs. 99/- in 1945, the standard of life has definitely gone down. Rural consumption has decreased by about 20 per cent. A rural man used to consume more with his Rs. 33/- in 1940 than what he can with Rs. 99/- in 1945. With the greatest economy in expenditure about 30 per cent. of the families are making both ends meet. But the percentage of families which are left with deficit budgets inspite of their economy and reduced consumption is not less than 40 per cent. Deficits are being met by drawing upon the reserves and resources. The reserves would have been depleted by this time had it not been for their increased value consequent upon the rise in prices. This class has not been able to pay off their debts. On the other hand many of them had to borrow to meet their day to day expenditure. In addition to the difficulties arising out of deficit budgets, this class had to suffer hardships caused by the control measures, black market, hoarding, the Bijapur famine, and scarcity of articles. Even the traders and the big producers who gloated over the high prices, have begun to feel the pinch of war. In their case, the cost of production has outpaced prices and the cost of living has outreached the earning capacity. Many of them had to spend during the latter half of 1943 and 1944 what they had saved in 1942 and 1943 and not a few of them had to incur debts to meet the cost of production or that of living. That indebtedness has not been liquidated in this class which got the largest benefit of war is borne out by the statistics relating to the working of agricultural co-operative credit societies. About 5 per cent. of the families which had invested in gold and land are finding their investments depreciating in value in course of time. Even the traders who are being thrown out

of their profession by the policy of Government to take over the purchase and distribution work, have now come to realize that no bright future is in store for them. Every body is anxiously waiting, nay praying, for the early termination of the war as he hopes that his misery would terminate with it. Post-war reconstruction policy of the Government alone can say whether the rural people are justified in their hopes.

**Statement showing the prices of some important articles as on
1-1-1940 and 1-1-1945.**

S. No.	Name of the article	Unit.	as on 1-1-1940	as on 1-1-1945
1	Bajri	Per Re.	16 Seers	6½ Seers
2	Jowar	"	19 "	4¾ "
3	Wheat	"	16 "	2¾ "
4	Gram	"	9½ "	3 "
5	Maize	"	22 "	7½ "
6	Rice (inferior)	"	9½ "	3 "
7	Coriander	"	10 "	6 "
8	Navni grain	"	8 "	4 "
9	Cotton	Maund of 56 Srs. of 20 Tolas each	Rs 2-10-0	Rs. 3-4-0
10	Gul	Per her of 8 maunds	" 14-0-0	" 4-0-0
11	Chilly	Per (vajje) of 8 mds	" 26-0-0	" 75-0-0
12	Groundnut	Maund	" 1-4-0	" 2-12-0
13	Non-irrigated land	Acre	" 100-0-0	" 250-0-0
14	Irrigated land	Acre	" 300-0-0	" 900-0-0
15	Bullocks	A pair	" 200-0-0	" 900-0-0
16	Cow	One	" 50-0-0	" 120-0-0
17	She-buffalo	One	" 60-0-0	" 300-0-0
18	Goat	One	" 4-0-0	" 20-0-0
19	Milk	Seer	" 0-3-0	" 0-8-0
20	Liquid Tea	Cup	" 0-0-6	" 0-1-6
21	Wages (off season)	Per labourer	" 0-3-0	" 0-12-0
22	Wages (during season)	"	" 0-5-0	" 1-8-0

Life and Living in Rural Karnatak

Statistical Tables

**Table No. 1—Monthly Birth Statistics of Gokak Taluka
for 1931-40 according to Sex.**

Month and sex	YEAR										Total for 1931- 40
	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	
January											
Male	212	208	211	219	177	225	238	227	207	222	2147
Female	207	194	235	219	191	219	231	206	196	190	2088
Feb.											
Male	177	191	213	197	182	235	206	221	202	218	2042
Female	189	195	217	199	157	194	230	210	177	221	1995
March											
Male	273	250	259	250	215	250	250	267	277	267	2558
Female	223	222	249	234	197	218	245	270	222	262	2342
April											
Male	249	242	244	221	187	225	260	239	243	206	2316
Female	221	225	223	203	166	193	237	243	206	193	2110
May											
Male	285	240	213	213	203	201	229	236	248	226	2294
Female	241	221	242	188	161	224	239	198	226	205	2145
June											
Male	227	234	204	149	208	226	207	162	210	187	2014
Female	206	203	204	176	198	199	211	190	198	217	2002
July											
Male	269	251	244	176	225	228	280	231	268	200	2372
Female	213	252	172	138	213	211	247	226	253	204	2129

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Month and sex	YEAR										Total for 1931- 40
	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	
August											
Male	235	269	258	241	257	236	262	268	310	235	2571
Female	226	269	236	207	244	225	282	197	267	216	2369
Septem.											
Male	250	300	263	215	262	278	292	295	301	260	2716
Female	256	248	249	213	220	269	310	286	269	265	2585
October											
Male	265	252	281	231	250	242	292	291	322	326	2752
Female	255	244	260	213	235	270	263	278	295	279	2592
Novem.											
Male	226	241	244	215	238	278	261	213	265	261	2442
Female	207	255	274	197	216	235	254	247	263	223	2371
Decem.											
Male	239	237	230	214	198	227	251	230	232	253	2311
Female	218	210	251	174	197	228	223	234	211	254	2200
Total in the year											
Male	2907	2915	2864	2541	2602	2851	3029	2880	3085	2861	28535
Female	2662	2738	2812	2361	2395	2685	2972	2785	2783	2735	26928

**Table No. 2—Monthly death statistics of Gokak Taluka
for 1931-40 according to sex.**

Month and sex	Year										Total for 1931- 40
	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	
January											
Male	141	106	139	215	161	125	104	113	137	178	1419
Female	117	100	139	219	160	138	99	121	145	138	1376
Feb.											
Male	79	117	101	160	147	112	95	90	121	117	1139
Female	89	98	104	182	131	109	64	95	115	98	1085
March											
Male	135	113	109	205	191	155	91	124	147	180	1450
Female	118	109	104	211	191	121	107	109	136	163	1369
April											
Male	188	130	104	183	184	120	118	145	135	185	1492
Female	180	132	107	152	187	96	101	157	137	175	1424
May											
Male	203	164	120	183	178	118	162	151	145	161	1585
Female	183	171	121	202	178	101	151	147	152	161	1567
June											
Male	388	158	131	185	145	125	121	173	126	143	1695
Female	384	140	151	161	145	89	114	151	151	149	1635
July											
Male	233	171	158	220	193	131	105	189	164	156	1720
Female	281	164	171	232	161	124	112	204	177	171	1797

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[illegible]

Table No. 3—Distribution of population according to age and sex

Age group	Male	Female	Total	Percentage to the total No. of members
1-5	797	903	1700	18.13
6-10	667	704	1371	14.63
11-15	484	413	897	9.57
16-20	516	509	1025	10.93
21-30	956	782	1738	19.02
31-40	585	501	1086	11.59
41-50	442	447	889	9.49
51-60	240	191	431	4.6
above 60	109	117	226	2.41
Total No. of members	4796	4577	9373	100.37

Table No. 4—Civic condition of the whole population according to age and sex.

Age group.	Civil condition of the males					Civil condition of the females.				
	Total males in the group.	Married	Unma- rried	Widow- ed	Divor- ced	Total No. of females in the group.	Married	Unmarried	Widowed	Divorced
1-10	1464	24	1439	1	0	1607	77	1528	2	0
11-15	484	36	444	2	2	423	234	184	3	2
16-20	516	224	283	8	1	509	469	20	5	15
21-30	956	792	113	29	22	782	723	14	22	23
31-40	585	518	13	42	12	501	405	12	69	15
41-50	442	368	8	63	3	447	264	7	170	6
above 51	349	227	9	112	1	308	94	8	206	0
Total	4796	2189	2309	257	41	4577	2266	1773	477	61

Table No. 5—Frequency of marriage of males and females according to age.

Present age in year-groups.	Number of times married			
	of the male 2nd	of the female 2nd and above	of the male 3rd	of the male 3rd and above
1-15	„	„	„	„
16-20	10	2	„	„
21-30	95	87	6	1
31-40	111	143	16	3
40-50	90	98	19	5
51-60	42	30	11	4
Above 60	18	0	8	2
All	366	360	60	15

Table No. 6—Table showing the size of the family according to economic classes.

Economic classes.	Percentage distribution of families according to the number of members.															Total No. of families in the Class	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		above 16
Owners ...	2.07	4.66	11.66	15.28	13.21	11.40	10.36	8.03	5.44	5.44	3.11	1.55	1.55	0.78	1.04	4.40	386
Tenants ...	0.44	3.11	9.78	10.66	20.88	11.56	10.66	9.33	4.89	7.12	3.11	3.11	3.11	0.89	...	1.33	225
Labourers	2.43	14.18	15.2	21.58	17.63	12.16	8.60	4.25	1.52	0.91	0.61	0.61	0.30	0.30	0.61	...	329
Traders ...	4.35	13.04	11.96	16.30	18.48	8.70	7.61	6.52	1.09	1.09	1.09	3.26	4.35	1.09	1.09	...	92
Artisans...	2.21	7.17	9.39	16.58	17.68	11.05	10.50	7.17	7.17	3.87	1.66	2.76	1.11	...	0.55	1.11	181
Servants...	3.81	6.10	10.68	17.56	16.03	11.45	6.87	10.68	5.34	4.58	1.53	...	1.53	0.76	1.53	1.53	137
Harijans...	1.20	7.83	10.84	14.46	12.65	12.05	16.87	6.63	5.42	4.82	4.22	...	...	...	...	3.01	166
The rest ...	4.88	17.07	17.07	12.19	8.54	10.97	9.76	3.66	6.10	2.44	2.44	1.22	3.66	...	...	...	82
All ...	2.26	8.29	11.99	16.08	15.95	11.43	10.05	7.10	4.52	4.02	2.26	1.51	1.57	.50	.63	1.82	1592

Table No. 7.—Percentage of children to the total number of members in the family in different classes.

Economic Class.	Percentage distribution of families according to percentage groups of children,										Total No. of families in the class.	
	0	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90		91-100
Owners	15.28	...	6.48	9.33	22.8	25.64	12.07	4.15	3.63	...	...	586
Tenants	11.56	...	7.12	10.22	20.88	23.11	12.89	9.78	4.45	...	...	225
Labourers	22.79	...	3.95	6.99	19.75	22.79	11.85	6.69	5.16	...	...	329
Traders	22.83	...	3.44	6.52	22.83	17.39	8.7	10.89	5.44	...	...	92
Artisans	15.47	.5	6.62	9.95	19.89	17.68	17.13	9.39	4.42	...	...	181
Servants	16.8	...	5.34	14.51	19.08	17.56	12.97	6.1	7.63	...	...	131
Harijans	15.06	...	4.82	10.84	18.07	23.29	12.05	5.42	10.24	1.2	...	166
Rest	28.06	...	3.66	9.76	18.29	14.63	9.76	9.76	6.10	...	...	82
All	17.51	.06	5.58	9.48	20.53	21.72	11.99	7.02	5.39	0.12	...	1592

Table No. 8—Size and composition of families.

No. of adults	Number of children.												Total No. of families
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	above 10	
1 Male	35	17	5	9	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	68
1 Female	1	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
1M+1F	104	102	124	114	62	48	16	5	1	1	...	...	577
1M+2F	36	32	37	23	10	7	4	2	1	...	...	...	152
1M+3F	2	9	5	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
1M+4F	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
2M	6	6	6	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	21
2F	4	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
2M+1F	34	46	40	28	17	18	2	4	...	...	...	...	189
2M+2F	20	28	24	25	15	9	11	4	1	...	...	...	137
2M+3F	5	7	5	9	5	4	1	1	...	...	1	...	38
2M+4F	1	2	4	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	10
2M+5F	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2M+7F	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
3M	3	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
3M+1F	13	9	11	25	7	4	3	2	...	...	...	...	74
3M+2F	5	10	16	15	14	6	3	2	1	1	...	...	73
3M+3F	4	3	11	9	11	6	6	3	2	...	...	...	55
3M+4F	...	...	...	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	...	...	9
3M+5F	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
4M	1	...	2	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
4M+1F	...	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
4M+2F	2	4	4	5	4	3	3	2	...	...	...	...	27
4M+3F	1	1	3	8	5	3	1	...	2	...	1	...	25
4M+4F	...	...	1	...	5	3	1	...	...	1	...	...	11
4M+5F	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	4
5M+1F	1	0	1	2	0	...	...	...	...	...	0	...	4
5M+2F	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	9
5M+3F	...	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	11

Continued from previous page.

No. of adults	Number of children.												Total No. of families
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	above 10	
5M+4F	1	...	1	1	2	...	...	2	2	1	10
5M+5F	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	5
5M+6F	2	...	1	...	...	3
6M+2F	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
6M+3F	2	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	5
6M+4F	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
6M+5F	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
6M+6F	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
7M+4F	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	5
7M+5F	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2
8M+2F	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
8M+4F	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
8M+6F	1	1
9M+5F	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
10M+8F	1	...	...	1
4F	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total No. of families.	279	288	312	290	172	125	63	32	10	11	6	4	1592

Table No. 9.—Table showing age at first marriage of males and females.

Age at first marriage of the female	Age at first marriage of the male.										Total	
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16	17	18	19	20	21-25	26-30		above 30
Below 1	17	29	11	5	1	1	1	2	1	...	...	68
1-5	21	139	123	19	10	15	2	5	7	2	1	344
6-10	5	23	227	112	37	87	18	45	42	3	...	599
11	...	...	6	7	3	24	5	15	7	4	...	71
12	...	1	9	16	4	40	15	30	42	4	...	161
13	...	...	3	2	7	10	4	18	24	2	1	71
14	...	...	2	1	3	12	9	17	28	6	1	79
15	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	9	28	4	1	44
16-20	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	9	20	7	...	38
21-25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	43	192	381	162	65	192	55	150	199	32	4	1475

Table No. 10—Table showing age first marriage in the grandfather generation.

Age at first marriage of the female	Age at first marriage of the male.											Total
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16	17	18	19	20	21-25	26-30	above 30	
Below 1	3	6	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	10
1-5	3	19	16	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	41
6-10	...	4	19	20	2	13	1	4	2	...	...	65
11	...	...	...	2	...	1	2	3	...	...	...	8
12	...	1	...	2	...	3	1	12	3	...	...	22
13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	1	...	5
14	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	...	...	9
15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	3
16-20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	5
Total	6	30	55	24	3	20	5	26	16	3	...	168

Table No. 11.—Age at first marriage of males and females who have been married after the Sharda-Act of marriage.

Age at first marriage of the female.	Age at first marriage of the male,											Total
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16	17	18	19	20	21-25	26-30	above 30	
Below 1	2	2	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	7
1-5	5	17	25	5	1	4	3	1	3	...	...	64
6-10	1	10	69	37	9	26	8	18	16	2	...	196
11	...	...	3	2	2	11	2	3	6	3	...	32
12	...	...	4	5	2	19	5	9	18	3	...	65
13	...	...	1	2	6	6	4	7	13	...	1	40
14	...	...	...	1	2	8	6	8	18	2	1	46
15	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	22	1	1	27
16-20	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	12	7	...	22
Total	8	29	103	52	22	76	30	50	108	18	3	499

Table No. 13—Duration of married life and number of children born.

No. of years lived with the husband	Number of children born										Total
	...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	above 8	
1-5	178	189	124	35	1	3	...	...	...	...	530
6-10	33	45	85	89	77	40	10	3	1	...	383
11-15	17	13	24	25	33	36	33	23	8	4	216
16-20	5	14	8	23	19	22	23	22	14	26	176
21-30	10	4	7	7	8	18	24	28	27	58	191
31-40	2	...	4	6	6	2	5	7	10	25	67
Total	245	265	252	185	144	121	95	83	60	113	1563

Table No. 15—Distribution of land among economic classes.

Economic Class	Percentage distribution of families according to area of land in acre groups										Total families in the group	
	0	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-80	81-100		above 100
Owner	0	18.39	21.24	27.45	10.36	8.08	2.84	2.33	4.15	1.55	3.63	386
Tenant	15.55	44.44	22.22	11.56	3.11	2.22	.89	...	...	...	...	225
Labourer	38.91	41.95	11.25	6.08	1.52	...	.3	...	...	...	...	329
Trader	36.96	32.60	15.22	6.52	3.26	3.26	...	...	1.09	...	1.09	92
Artisan	49.18	23.20	11.05	11.05	2.76	.55	1.11	.55	.55	...	...	181*
Servant	27.48	22.14	6.87	11.45	8.40	8.40	7.63	1.53	2.29	1.53	2.29	131
Harijan	37.34	53.62	6.63	1.80	.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	166
Rest	34.14	19.51	20.73	10.97	8.54	6.10	...	...	...	...	...	82
All	25.88	32.34	15.07	12.87	4.95	3.52	1.64	.76	1.32	.50	1.01	1592

Table No. 16.—Payment of land revenue by economic classes.

Economic Class.	Percentage distribution of families according to the amount of land revenue paid in rupee groups.											Total families in the group.
											above 100	
	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	51-100		
Owners	...	19.39	24.41	11.91	11.14	6.48	6.48	5.44	4.15	7.51	2.07	386
Tenants	...	15.55	43.54	26.22	5.35	5.78	.44	1.78	.89	.44	...	225
Labourers	...	38.9	48.33	10.64	1.22	.61	...	.30	...	...	...	329
Traders	...	36.96	42.4	7.61	4.35	5.44	...	...	1.09	1.09	...	92
Artisans	...	49.18	27.08	16.02	3.87	1.11	.55	1.66	...	...	...	181
Servants	...	27.48	29.77	12.21	8.40	6.10	1.53	2.29	4.58	3.31	1.53	131
Harijans	...	37.34	56.61	4.21	1.20	.60	...	...	...	...	...	166
Rest	...	34.14	36.6	17.07	7.32	...	1.22	2.44	...	1.22	...	82
Att--	...	25.88	36.67	16.58	5.78	4.64	1.88	2.26	1.94	2.44	.63	1592

Table No. 17.—Distribution of live-stock wealth among economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to wealth in live-stock in rupee groups.											Total families in the group.	
	0	1-10	15-25	26-50	51-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-700	701-1000		above 1000
Owners.	...	5.18	4.40	9.58	20.96	33.93	11.40	6.48	3.63	1.55	2.33	.52	386
Tenant.	...	3.11	1.33	13.79	27.10	31.11	16.44	2.67	.89	3.66	...	...	225
Labourer.	25.82	17.33	18.54	22.18	13.38	1.82	.3	.3	.3	...	...	...	329
Trader.	43.48	8.7	14.13	15.22	9.78	5.44	1.09	1.09	1.09	...	...	...	92
Artisan.	34.21	16.57	8.84	16.02	16.02	7.17	.55	.55	...	...	...	...	181
Servant.	42.72	6.87	6.10	15.27	9.16	10.68	5.34	1.53	...	2.29	...	...	131
Harijan.	31.92	25.20	13.80	15.66	9.64	2.41	1.20	...	...	...	...	...	166
Rest.	31.70	13.42	4.88	13.42	8.54	9.76	6.10	3.66	4.88	1.22	2.44	...	82
All	20.23	11.55	9.10	15.13	16.27	15.76	6.15	2.44	1.39	1.01	0.69	.13	1592

N. B.—For the purpose of calculating the average 'above 1000 is taken 1001-1500 (vide statement No. 20)

Table No. 18—Distribution of wealth in houses according to economic classes.

Economic Class.	Percentage distribution of families according to wealth in houses in rupee groups.											Total No. of families in the group.
	0	1-50	51-100	101-200	201-400	401-600	601-800	801-1000	1001-1500	1501-2000	Above 2000	
Owner.	1.81	6.74	15.28	23.30	27.97	10.1	5.96	4.40	.78	1.81	1.81	386
Tenant.	4.45	11.11	24.44	22.22	21.33	8.45	2.67	4.0	.44	.	.89	225
Labourer	16.7	29.79	26.12	19.15	6.99	.61	.30	.30	.	.	.	329
Trader	9.78	13.04	17.39	15.22	21.72	6.52	5.44	7.61	1.09	2.17	.	92
Artisan	15.47	17.13	13.82	24.86	17.68	6.07	.55	1.66	1.11	1.66	.	181
Servant	19.08	9.92	13.74	23.66	12.97	9.16	4.58	4.58	.76	.	1.53	131
Harijan	12.05	62.65	18.67	3.01	2.41	.	.	.	.	.6	.6	166
Rest.	12.19	30.49	18.29	13.42	15.85	6.10	.	2.44	1.22	.	.	82
All.	10.30	20.97	19.15	19.41	16.64	5.90	2.64	2.82	.56	.82	.76	1592

N. B.—For calculating the average 'above 2000 is taken as 2001-3000 (vide statement' 20)

Table No. 19.—Distribution of wealth in utensils among economic classes.

Economic classes.	Percentage distribution of families according to the wealth in utensils in rupee groups.								Total families in the group.
	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-75	76-100	above 100	
Owner	...	15.29	32.64	22.28	11.14	4.40	3.37	6.22	4.66
Tenant	...	34.64	35.08	16.88	5.78	1.78	3.56	.44	1.78
Labourer	...	49.24	45.30	5.16	...	...	...	.30	...
Trader	...	6.52	26.08	16.30	16.30	13.04	8.70	3.26	9.78
Artisan	...	22.65	39.78	22.10	6.62	2.21	2.76	2.76	1.11
Servant	...	26.72	30.52	17.56	8.40	2.29	4.58	6.87	3.05
Harijan	...	83.12	14.46	1.80	.60	...	...	...	...
The rest	...	51.24	26.84	14.63	1.22	2.44	2.44	1.22	...
All	...	35.23	33.66	14.69	6.03	2.64	2.64	2.76	2.32

N. B.—For calculating the average above 101 is taken as 101-300 (vide statement No. 20)

Table No. 20.—Distribution of wealth other than land among economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to the total wealth excluding that in land in rupee groups.									Total No. of families in the group.	
	1-200	201-400	401-800	801-1200	1201-1600	1601-2000	2001-2400	2401-2800	2801-3200		above 3200
Owners.	15.03	22.54	31.34	12.70	8.03	4.15	1.04	1.04	.26	3.89	386
Tenants.	25.33	23.56	23.11	10.22	6.67	3.56	1.78	1.78	1.33	2.67	255
Labourers.	66.56	24.92	6.69	1.21	.61	...	...	...	...	...	329
Traders.	27.17	20.65	14.13	16.30	4.35	3.26	2.17	...	...	11.96	92
Artisans.	31.49	24.31	23.75	8.29	3.32	2.76	3.87	.55	...	1.66	181
Servants.	38.93	22.90	18.32	9.92	2.29	3.05	1.53	...	...	3.05	131
Harijans.	93.97	4.22	1.20	.60	...	...	...	...	...	...	166
Rest.	36.58	25.61	14.63	8.54	9.76	2.44	...	...	...	2.44	82
All.	40.91	21.54	18.14	7.98	4.33	2.38	1.19	.57	.25	2.57	1592

Table No. 21.—Distribution of wealth other than land among and payment of land revenue by economic classes.

Total wealth excluding that in land in rupee groups.	Land revenue paid in rupee groups.										Total no. of families	
	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	51-100		above 100
1-200	263	282	74	14	12	3	3	2	...	...	...	653
201-400	84	137	69	24	11	7	7	2	...	...	...	343
401-800	39	99	65	24	23	12	8	6	...	...	...	289
801-1200	13	40	22	14	9	2	5	7	10	3	...	127
1201-1600	6	13	16	5	7	3	7	4	6	...	...	69
1601-2000	3	4	8	7	5	1	1	4	2	...	1	38
2001-2400	3	3	3	2	1	...	2	1	2	...	...	19
2401-2800	...	...	...	1	3	1	...	2	...	1	...	9
2801-3200	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	4
above 3200	4	2	6	1	2	1	3	3	5	...	5	41
Total no. of families.	415	581	264	92	74	30	36	31	22	37	10	1592

Table No. 22—Distribution of cultivating land according to ownership and tenure.

Area owned in acre groups.	Area taken on rent in acre groups.										Total No. of families.	
	0	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-80	81-100		above 100
0	318	55	20	10	2	3	2	2	.. 1	..	..	412
1-5	313	96	53	33	13	5	.. 2	1	..	..	..	515
6-10	137	35	31	21	7	7	3	.. 2	.. 2	..	..	240
11-20	129	22	12	25	8	2	2	1	..	..	..	205
21-30	57	5	4	3	5	1	..	1	.. 1	..	..	80
31-40	38	2	3	5	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	56
41-50	21	1	1	..	1	1	.. 1	..	..	..	..	25
51-60	10	..	.. 2	1	..	..	1	..	..	.. 1	..	12
61-80	15	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	21
81-100	8	..	.. 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
above 100	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Total No. of families.	1063	216	127	99	40	21	11	7	4	2	2	1592

Table No. 23—Distribution of wealth in savings among economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to savings in rupee-groups.						Total no. of families.
	Less than 50	51-200	201-400	401-600	601-1000	above 1000	
Owner	48.7	31.1	7.0	3.6	6.2	3.4	386
Tenant	65.3	24.9	4.4	2.7	1.8	.9	225
Labour	71.1	23.1	3.6	.9	.3	...	329
Trader	9.8	25.0	17.4	16.3	15.2	16.3	92
Artisan	51.4	25.9	12.1	4.4	2.8	3.3	181
Servant	25.2	28.2	19.1	17.6	7.6	2.3	131
Harijan	83.7	15.1	1.2	...	...	...	166
Rest	32.9	28.1	12.2	9.8	6.1	11.0	82
Total	54.8	24.9	7.8	4.8	4.6	3.0	1592

N. B.—For calculating the average above 1000 is taken as 1001-2000 (vide statement 20)

Table No. 24.—Size of family income according to economic classes.

Economic Class.	Age at first marriage of the male,											Total No. of families in the group.
	1-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-600	601-800	801-1000	above 1001	
Owner	·52	6·74	18·13	20·72	20·72	12·95	7·25	4·40	4·40	3·10	1·04	386
Tenant	1·33	12	31·56	24	12·45	12	3·56	1·33	·89	·89	...	225
Labourer	3·95	41·33	32·22	15·2	6·38	·91	...	...	...	...	...	329
Trader	...	5·44	18·48	30·44	34·77	1·09	...	1·09	3·26	1·09	4·35	92
Artisan	1·1	8·29	18·23	19·89	28·73	13·26	4·42	4·42	·55	·55	·55	181
Servant	1·53	8·4	23·67	16·03	14·51	19·85	4·58	2·29	5·34	3·05	·76	131
Harijan	1·80	21·69	26·51	23·50	15·06	8·43	2·41	·60	...	...	...	166
Rest	7·31	17·07	29·27	10·97	21·95	7·31	2·44	...	1·22	1·22	1·22	82
All	1·94	16·95	24·87	19·91	17·27	9·48	3·52	2·07	1·94	1·32	·69	1592

Table No. 26—Percentage of children and per capita income of families.

{ For the whole group excepting
the Harijans and the rest.

Percentage of children in the family.	Percentage distribution of families according to annual per capita income in rupee group.											Total No. of families.	
	1-10	11-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-80	81-100		100
1-10	1	5	6	13	27	30	21	23	32	35	19	19	231
11-20	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
21-30	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	78
31-40	...	5	15	21	13	15	12	14	8	11	3	4	125
41-50	...	18	42	39	54	39	13	19	31	18	4	5	282
51-60	...	41	60	45	46	32	13	6	12	13	9	10	297
61-70	...	31	36	34	20	13	9	9	7	5	2	3	171
71-80	...	25	23	16	11	3	5	4	2	4	...	1	95
81-90	...	20	16	10	7	3	3	1	2	...	...	1	64
91-100
...
All	5	147	204	189	196	144	83	91	101	93	40	51	1344

Table No. 27.—Per capita income in the family for economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to per capita annual income of their members in rupee groups.												Total No. of families in the group.
	1-10	11-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-80	81-100	above 100	
Owners.	...	3.89	7.51	13.47	16.32	13.98	6.74	7.51	10.36	9.33	4.15	6.74	386
Tenants.	...	14.23	21.77	24	7.78	6.22	2.67	4.45	3.56	4.45	0.44	0.44	225
Labourers.	0.61	25.20	24.60	11.55	15.50	9.42	4.25	5.16	2.43	1.22	...	...	329
Traders.	...	1.09	6.52	13.04	10.89	9.78	8.7	9.78	15.22	10.89	2.17	1.96	92
Artisans.	0.55	3.87	9.95	12.69	13.26	14.34	10.50	8.29	6.62	13.26	5.52	1.11	181
Servants.	1.53	6.87	16.03	7.63	6.10	7.63	7.63	8.40	14.51	6.87	8.40	8.40	131
Harijans.	0.60	19.88	25.90	18.07	12.05	8.43	4.22	1.80	3.01	4.82	0.60	0.60	166
Rest.	1.22	10.97	18.29	12.19	9.76	6.10	10.97	2.44	9.76	10.97	4.88	2.44	82
Total.	.44	11.87	16.39	14.38	14.07	10.36	6.28	5.96	7.03	6.97	2.82	3.39	1592

Table No. 28—Showing the classification of families of cultivating owner's class according to income groups and percentage of income from land.

Income groups in rupees	Percentage of Income from land to the total income.							Total No. of families	
	Below 30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90		91-100
1-50	.. 7	.. 2	.. 5	.. 6	.. 4	..	1	2	
51-100	3	7	12	13	16	.. 8	2	26	
101-150	5	15	13	11	12	7	11	70	
151-200	3	4	3	4	9	7	6	80	
201-250	1	1	8	4	4	2	10	45	
251-300	1	2	4	5	4	4	4	35	
301-350	..	..	2	2	4	4	7	31
351-400	..	..	1	5	6	2	2	19
401-500	..	..	..	5	4	8	5	28
501-600	..	..	..	1	4	2	1	17
601-700	..	..	..	1	1	.. 1	3	7
701-800	..	..	2	1	.. 2	1	5	10
801-900	..	..	..	1	..	.. 1	3	9
901-1000	..	..	..	..	.. 1	1	2	3
above 1000	..	..	..	..	.. 1	1	..	4
Total No. of families.	20	31	50	54	67	43	58	63	386

Table No. 29—Showing classification of families of cultivating owner's class according to Income groups and income from livestock.

Income groups in rupees	Income from livestock in rupee groups.										Total families in the group
	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-100	above 100	
1-50	2	5	5	4	2	1	...	...	...	...	2
51-100	10	20	12	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	26
101-150	33	15	15	10	4	2	...	...	1	...	70
151-200	33	17	18	5	3	3	1	1	1	...	80
201-300	31	7	6	4	1	1	2	1	2	...	80
301-400	27	2	4	4	1	2	...	...	...	1	50
401-500	11	1	4	1	1	2	1	...	...	1	28
501-600	12	3	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	17
601-700	2	3	3	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	7
701-800	4	...	3	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	10
801-900	6	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
901-1000	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3
above 1000	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Total No. of families	177	71	65	31	16	9	6	2	5	4	386

Table No. 30—The percentage income of families of cultivating owner's class from some important sources

In percentage of income to the total	Source of Income							
	Sheep rearing	Trade	Service	Interest		Rent		Live-stock
				In-irrigated region	Total	In non-irrigated region	In irrigated region	
0	377	353	366	208	145	180	142	134
1-5	..	1	1	..	2	2	1	54
6-10	2	4	2	4	4	10	2	71
11-15	4	4	6	3	3	9	5	48
16-20	3	6	1	2	1	11	6	29
21-30	..	10	4	4	..	9	4	31
31-40	..	3	3	2	4	2	2	10
41-50	..	3	3	..	2	1	..	3
above 50	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	6
Total No. of families	386	386	386	224	162	224	162	386

Table No. 31—Showing percentage income of families of cultivating owner's class from casual labour.

Income groups	Percentage income from casual labour.									Total No. of families	
	Percentage income from casual labour.										
	...	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60		above 60
1-50	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
51-100	16	...	4	3	1	1	1	...	...	...	26
101-150	34	5	9	5	11	1	4	1	...	...	70
151-200	37	3	10	10	13	1	5	1	...	...	80
201-300	58	4	5	6	4	1	1	1	...	...	80
301-400	35	5	4	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	50
401-500	16	2	7	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	28
501-600	15	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
601-700	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
701-800	10	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
801-900	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
901-1000	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
above 1000	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Total No. of families.	245	19	41	30	33	4	11	3	...	...	386

Table No. 32—Table showing the classification of families of tenant class according to
Income groups and income from livestock in rupee groups,

Income groups in rupees.	Income from livestock in rupees.										Total families.
	Less than Rs. 10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100	above 100
1-50	2	4	4	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	3
51-100	15	14	7	9	2	1	...	1	...	...	27
101-150	36	11	15	4	3	3	...	1	...	...	71
151-200	18	5	8	2	1	2	...	1	...	...	54
201-300	9	1	2	6	1	3	1	2	2	...	28
301-400	8	1	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	27
401-500	3	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	8
501-600	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3
601-700	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2
701-800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
801-1000	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2
Total No. of families.	92	36	39	24	10	11	1	7	2	2	225

Table No. 34.—Percentage income of families of tenant class from important sources.

Per- centage income.	SOURCE OF INCOME												Interest.	Trade.	Services.
	Land.				Cart Hire			Casual Labour							
	In irrigated region.	In poor region.	The rest.	Total for the class.	In irrigated region.	In Poor.	Rest.	Total.	In irrigated region.	In Poor.	The rest.	Total.			
0	...	...	...	...	63	50	50	163	40	22	32	94	207	204	217
1-5	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	7	2	...	2	4	1	3	...
6-10	...	7	...	2	5	5	5	15	3	4	...	7	2	1	...
11-15	3	9	6	7	5	4	7	16	13	1	1	15	6	2	...
16-20	6	6	7	18	4	3	4	11	8	11	7	26	4	7	...
21-30	10	14	10	19	5	3	1	9	6	11	7	24	...	4	1
31-40	17	14	12	34	5	3	...	3	4	5	10	19	...	2	...
41-50	12	8	11	43	3	...	...	...	8	8	5	21	...	3	...
51-60	9	4	6	31	...	1	...	1	1	7	2	10	...	1	...
61-70	10	3	6	19	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	5	...	...	...
71-80	7	3	5	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
81-90	11	1	5	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
91-100	86	71	68	225	86	71	68	225	86	71	68	225	225	225	225
Total, No. of families.	86	71	68	225	86	71	68	225	86	71	68	225	225	225	225

Table No. 35.—Percentage income of Labourers from labour according to regions.

Percentage income from labour.	Name of the region			For the whole group.
	Non Irrigated region.	Irrigated region.	The rest.	
Below 20	...	1	...	1
21-30	4	...	2	6
31-40	10	5	6	21
41-50	8	10	6	24
51-60	9	13	13	35
61-70	19	17	13	49
71-80	22	35	13	70
81-90	16	24	15	55
91-100	15	34	19	68
Total No. of families	103	139	87	329

Table No. 36—The percentage income of labourers from important sources.

Percentage income	Source of Income								
	Land.			Others.					
	Irrigated	Poor	Rest	Total	Service	Spinning	Trade	Interest	Livestock
0	55	18	38	111	318	320	218	325	133
1-5	6	4	2	12	1	2	...	...	46
6-10	19	17	10	46	...	4	...	...	34
11-15	15	16	14	45	1	3	1	...	37
16-20	15	15	10	40	1	...	1	1	21
21-30	21	22	7	50	1	...	2	2	35
31-40	7	9	2	18	1	...	2	...	11
above 40	1	2	4	7	6	...	5	1	12
Total No. of families.	139	103	87	329	329	329	329	329	329

Table No. 37.—The percentage income of families of trader class from important sources.

Percentage Income	Source of Income					
	Trade	Land	Service	Livestock	Casual labour	Interest
0	...	34	83	73	70	83
1-5	...	5	...	2	...	1
6-10	...	9	...	3	2	...
11-15	...	7	1	5	1	1
16-20	8	10	...	4	8	1
21-30	5	13	2	4	1	1
31-40	8	6	4	...	4	1
41-50	6	6	2	...	4	1
51-60	5	1	...	...	...	1
61-70	4	...	...	...	1	...
71-80	19	1	...	1	1	1
81-90	16	...	...	...	...	1
91-100	21	...	...	...	...	...
Total no. of families.	92	92	92	92	92	92

Table No. 38.—The percentage income of families of artisan class from some important sources according to sub-classes.

Percentage Income	Main occupation of:—					
	Hereditary artisan.	Tailor & gold-smith.	Weaver	Vaddar	Korvar	Total
0	...	...	...	...	...	...
1-20	...	...	...	...	...	...
21-30	6	1	2	...	3	12
31-40	5	2	2	...	3	12
41-50	7	5	1	...	5	18
51-60	6	5	3	...	2	17
61-70	9	9	3	1	1	23
71-80	9	7	2	3	...	21
81-90	8	5	5	6	...	24
91-100	13	5	17	19	...	54
Total	63	39	35	30	14	181

Table No. 38—(Continued).

Percentage Income.	Land.					Total
	Hereditary artisan.	Tailor and Goldsmith	Weaver	Vaddar.	Korvar	
0	25	9	21	25	9	89
1-5	2	1	2	2	...	7
6-10	8	2	4	...	1	15
11-15	4	8	3	...	1	18
15-20	4	2	2	...	...	8
21-30	8	6	1	1	1	17
31-40	6	4	2	...	1	13
41-50	3	4	...	...	1	8
51-60	1	3	...	...	...	4
61-70	...	...	...	...	...	...
71-80	2	...	...	...	...	2
Total families	63	39	35	30	14	181

Table No. 39.—The percentage income of families of servant class from some important sources according to sub-classes.

[illegible]

Table No. 40.—Expenditure groups according to economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to expenditure groups in rupees.											Total no. of families.
	1-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-600	601-800	801-1000	above 1000	
Owner.	1.3	8.8	22.28	21.24	22.8	10.1	5.44	4.66	1.81	1.04	.52	386
Tenant.	.44	10.22	31.11	21.33	20.45	12	2.22	.89	1.33	...	...	225
Labour	3.34	49.23	33.74	7.91	4.56	1.22	...	...	...	...	...	329
Trader.	...	11.96	29.35	21.74	9.78	8.7	10.86	4.35	2.17	...	1.09	92
Artisan.	1.11	9.95	20.44	23.20	27.63	11.05	3.31	1.66	1.66	...	...	181
Servant.	1.53	8.40	26.72	19.08	16.8	13.74	4.58	1.53	6.87	...	.76	131
Harijan.	2.41	19.28	31.32	18.67	17.47	7.83	1.2	1.8	...	...	...	166
Rest.	7.32	29.3	43.9	14.63	3.66	...	...	...	...	...	1.22	82
Total	1.94	19.78	28.51	17.96	16.46	8.1	3.14	2.01	1.51	.25	.31	1592

Table No. 41 :—Classification of families according to per capita expenditure of their members for different economic classes

Economic class	Percentage distribution of families according to per capita annual expenditure of their members in rupee groups												Total families in the group
	1-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-80	81-100	above 101
Owners	...	0.26	4.40	10.36	22.54	17.10	15.28	8.55	5.96	5.70	6.22	2.07	1.55
Tenants	...	0.44	7.12	28.88	24.0	17.33	10.66	4.0	3.56	2.67	1.33	...	...
Labourers	0.30	4.25	25.20	27.66	17.33	15.50	3.95	2.73	1.82	0.91	0.30	...	...
Traders	...	...	2.17	7.61	17.39	13.04	16.30	7.61	7.61	11.96	9.78	4.35	2.17
Artisans	...	1.11	2.76	11.05	21.55	15.47	15.47	9.39	8.84	6.07	4.97	2.76	0.55
Servants	1.53	2.29	5.34	11.45	11.45	12.97	9.16	10.68	11.45	6.10	8.40	5.34	3.81
Harijans	0.60	3.61	18.67	21.08	21.08	12.65	5.42	6.03	2.41	4.22	3.61	...	0.60
The rest	...	6.10	15.85	24.32	15.85	12.19	3.66	1.22	4.88	4.88	9.76	1.22	...
All	.25	2.01	10.92	18.40	19.91	15.26	10.24	6.28	5.21	4.53	4.46	1.57	.94

Table No. 42 :—Table showing classification of families according to expenditure groups and members in the family. (in adult units)

Expenditure groups in rupees	Members in adult Units.										Total No. of families
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	above 8		
1-50	18	9	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	31
51-100	15	92	139	47	18	3	...	1	...	315	
101-150	2	27	114	147	121	33	8	2	...	454	
151-200	1	8	31	69	89	59	19	5	5	286	
201-300	...	3	17	59	44	56	49	36	18	262	
301-400	...	...	1	8	16	22	19	23	40	129
401-500	...	1	2	3	3	5	7	5	24	50	
501-600	...	...	...	3	1	...	1	2	25	32
601-900	...	...	...	1	...	1	3	2	17	24
801-1000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4
Above 1000	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	5
Total No. of families :	36	140	308	317	293	179	106	76	137	1592	

Table No. 43.—Percentage of children to the total number of members in the family and per capita expenditure:

Percentage distribution of families according to annual per capita expenditure in rupee groups.															Total No. of families.
Percentage of children.	1-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-80	81-100	above 100		
0	2	...	4	7	32	43	33	29	19	23	17	16	6	231	
1-10	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
11-20	...	...	1	7	21	15	9	7	6	8	3	1	...	78
21-30	...	...	5	18	27	15	16	11	8	5	14	4	2	125
31-40	...	3	17	57	55	49	39	12	24	11	13	1	1	282	
41-50	...	5	41	69	63	48	26	15	8	9	8	2	3	297	
51-60	1	2	30	39	36	26	18	9	3	4	1	...	2	171	
61-70	...	5	19	26	19	8	6	5	5	1	1	...	...	95
71-80	...	6	13	15	15	9	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	64
Tl.no. of families	3	21	130	238	268	213	151	89	75	61	57	24	14	1344	

Table No. 44—Percentage expenditure on staple food according to economic classes.

Economic Class.	Percentage distribution of families according to percentage-groups of expenditure on staple food.										Total No. of families in the group.
	1-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	Above 80	
Owner.	2.07	.26	3.89	15	27.72	38.87	10.62	1.3	.26	...	386
Tenant.	...	.44	.44	5	14.22	50.66	26.22	3.11	...	...	225
Labourer	...	...	...	1.52	6.38	27.97	39.82	21.58	2.43	.30	329
Trader	...	6.52	16.30	40.22	25.08	8.69	2.77	...	...	...	92
Artisan	1.66	1.66	4.97	22.10	35.36	25.96	5.52	2.76	...	...	181
Servant	3.05	5.34	9.92	26.72	25.95	16.79	9.16	3.05	...	...	131
Harijan	...	...	3.01	11.44	18.07	25.9	27.71	11.44	2.41	...	166
Rest.	...	...	4.88	15.85	19.51	37.80	15.85	3.66	2.44	...	82
All.	.94	1.01	3.90	13.69	20.60	31.84	19.97	7.16	.94	.06	1592

Table No. 45.—The percentage expenditure on meat according to economic classes.

Economic Class.	Percentage distribution of families according to percentage groups of expenditure on meat.						Total No. of families.
	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	above 20	
Owner	88.84	3.63	5.18	1.3	0.78	0.26	386
Tenant	69.34	11.11	13.79	4.0	1.33	0.44	225
Labourer	65.66	16.70	15.2	2.43	...	...	329
Trader	78.31	7.61	11.96	1.09	1.09	...	92
Artisan	67.40	13.82	16.02	1.11	1.66	...	181
Servant	64.10	18.32	14.51	0.76	2.29	...	131
Harijan	4.22	47.59	38.56	8.43	0.60	0.60	166
Rest	78.05	18.29	3.66	...	...	...	82
All	66.83	15.32	14.26	2.51	.88	.19	1592

Table No. 46.—The percentage expenditure on stimulants and intoxicants according to economic classes.

Economic Class.	Percentage distribution of families according to percentage groups of expenditure.						Total No. of families in the group.
	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	above 20	
Owner	10.62	51.8	20.98	10.36	.78	5.44	386
Tenant	13.79	43.98	23.56	10.22	3.56	4.89	225
Labourer	16.10	53.16	20.36	10.94	4.25	5.16	329
Trader	2.17	14.13	40.23	17.39	15.22	10.89	92
Artisan	5.52	15.47	26.52	19.89	16.02	16.58	181
Servant	11.45	17.56	32.06	15.27	10.68	12.97	131
Harijan	3.01	14.46	21.08	22.29	16.26	22.90	166
Rest	9.76	24.28	25.61	10.97	13.42	15.85	82
All	10.36	34.47	24.11	13.63	7.54	9.85	1592

Table No. 47—The percentage expenditure on clothes according to economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to percentage groups.						Total No. of families.
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	above 30	
Owner	1.04	18.40	38.08	31.86	10.62	..	386
Tenant	...	13.79	41.32	35.08	8.89	0.89	225
Labourer	...	17.33	57.76	21.58	3.04	0.3	329
Trader	...	8.7	35.86	35.86	17.39	2.17	92
Artisan	3.87	33.70	34.26	19.34	18.29	.55	181
Servant	0.76	9.16	38.92	35.88	15.27	...	131
Harijan	4.22	62.65	30.12	3.01	...	...	166
Rest	2.44	21.95	50.01	18.29	2.44	4.88	82
All	1.32	22.74	41.89	25.62	7.79	.63	1592

Table No. 48—The percentage expenditure on interest according to economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to percentage groups of expenditure.								Total No. of families.
	0	1-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	above 50	
Owners	62.69	15.29	11.14	5.18	3.89	1.55	...	.26	386
Tenants	65.79	15.55	8.89	5.78	1.78	1.78	...	.44	225
Labour	76.9	12.76	6.08	3.95	.30	...	...	...	329
Traders	77.18	14.13	4.35	2.17	1.09	...	1.09	...	92
Artisans	73.48	15.47	8.29	1.11	1.11	.55	...	...	181
Servants	68.69	17.56	9.92	3.81	...	...	...	...	131
Harijans	41.57	35.54	14.46	4.92	2.41	...	.6	.6	166
Rest	81.7	7.32	4.88	2.44	3.65	...	...	...	82
All	67.40	16.64	8.98	4.08	1.88	.69	.13	.19	1592

Table No. 49—The percentage expenditure on miscellaneous groups of items.

Economic class	Percentage distribution of families according to percentage groups.									Total No. of families
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	above 60	
Owners	1.3	9.33	19.71	25.64	22.79	10.1	3.63	.26	.26	386
Tenant	.89	22.22	31.11	25.33	16.44	2.67	.89	.44	...	225
Labour	5.76	44.38	31.92	12.76	4.56	.61	...	...	...	329
Trader	...	5.44	25.01	25.01	35.86	4.35	4.35	...	...	92
Artisan	1.11	12.69	37.7	30.35	19.34	2.21	.55	...	...	181
Servant	.76	12.97	30.53	29.77	15.27	6.87	2.29	.76	.76	131
Harijan	16.26	61.44	13.85	6.03	1.8	.6	...	...	...	166
Rest	...	19.51	34.14	21.95	14.63	7.32	1.22	1.22	...	82
All	3.52	24.8	26.76	21.54	16.96	4.46	1.57	.25	.13	1592

Table No. 50—The size of debt for economic classes.

Economic class.	Percentage distribution of families according to indebtedness groups in rupees.											Total No. of families in the group.
	0	1-50	51-100	101-200	201-400	401-600	601-800	801-1000	1000-1500	1501-2000	above 2000	
Owners	46.36	4.4	6.74	10.62	12.18	5.96	2.33	4.66	2.59	2.23	1.81	386
Tenants	40.44	4.45	12.45	17.33	13.34	3.11	4.0	1.78	1.78	.44	.89	225
Labourers	49.85	14.18	11.85	10.34	10.02	.91	.61	1.52	.61	...	...	329
Traders	59.84	3.26	7.61	15.22	5.44	4.35	...	3.26	1.09	...	...	92
Artisans	52.46	8.29	12.14	11.05	7.72	3.31	3.31	1.11	.55	...	...	181
Servants	43.5	5.34	6.87	16.03	9.92	6.87	4.58	3.05	.76	2.99	.76	131
Harijans	22.29	33.13	14.46	20.48	8.43	1.20	...	...	...	...	...	166
Rest	51.24	2.44	12.19	14.63	7.32	2.44	2.44	3.66	...	3.66	...	82
All	45.22	9.79	10.36	13.50	10.17	3.52	2.13	2.44	1.19	1.01	.63	1592

N. B.—For calculating the average above 2000 is taken as 2001—3000 (vide statement 38)

Table No. 51 :—The classification of families according to the size of debt and yearly surplus or deficit of income in rupee groups.

Indebtedness groups in rupees.	Yearly deficit of income in rupee groups.					Yearly surplus of income in rupee groups.					Total No. of families.	
	above 100	51-100	26-50	13-25	5-12	0	5-12	13-25	26-50	51-100		above 100
0	...	4	15	34	72	90	92	122	107	86	98	720
1-50	...	3	3	15	34	39	24	21	15	2	...	156
51-100	...	4	11	18	30	32	21	28	15	2	1	165
101-200	...	5	17	20	39	32	27	28	30	14	3	215
201-400	2	6	10	14	27	25	24	20	17	13	4	102
401-600	...	1	5	6	5	8	5	8	6	7	5	56
601-800	1	...	2	5	2	4	5	6	4	3	2	34
801-1000	1	1	6	4	5	2	4	7	3	3	3	39
1001-1500	1	2	4	...	4	1	...	...	1	1	5	19
1501-2000	...	1	1	3	1	...	...	...	5	1	4	16
above 2000	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	1	1	2	10
Total No. of families.	6	28	74	120	222	233	202	243	204	133	127	1592

Table No. 52.—Indebtedness and yearly surplus or deficit of income in rupee groups of those families who pay interest partly.

Indebtedness groups in rupees.	Yearly deficit in rupees.						Yearly surplus in rupees.					Total No. of families.
	in rupees.						rupees.					
	above 100	51-100	26-50	13-25	5-12	0	5-12	13-25	26-50	51-100	above 100	
0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1-50	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
51-100	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
101-200	...	...	1	...	3	4	1	3	1	1	...	21
201-400	...	2	3	1	3	...	3	2	2	3	...	19
401-600	...	...	1	2	...	4	3	1	...	...	...	11
601-800	1	...	...	2	...	2	2	3	1	...	...	11
801-1000	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	3	1	...	1	7
1001-1500	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	4
1501-2000	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	2	6
above 2000	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	4
Total No. of families.	2	5	8	15	10	11	11	14	7	4	5	92

Glossary of Kannada Words.

Akka.	Elder sister ; used as an honorific term for a senior lady.
Amavasye.	No moon day.
Avva.	Mother ; used as an honorific term for an elderly lady.
Arti.	Plate of light which is waved before persons or God on ceremonials or holy occasions.
Atti tree.	Tree which grows on riverside. Marathi : Umbar, Latin : Ficus glomoratta.
Āyḡār.	Who recieves dues from agriculturists at the time of harvest : Marathi : Balutedar.
Ayya.	Lingayat Priest.
Bedagu.	Kannada name for family stock.
Chavaliga.	A person who has the hereditary right to invite guests at the time of marriage.
Das.	Name of a community which lives on stitching of clothes.
Deshpande.	A land-lord holding 'Vatan' lands.
Golla.	A caste of nomadic people who live on begging.
Gavthan.	The area of the village meant for residence.
Guggul.	Bedellium ; Marathi ; Dhoop.
Hande.	Big pot meant for boiling water.
Holige.	Cakes of country sugar and pounded gram roasted with a covering of wheat paste : Marathi : Puran Poli.
Huggi.	Wheat soaked in water, pounded and then boiled with country sugar.

Hunnive,	Full Moon day.
Jali.	A kind of thorny tree, Latin ; A Cacia Arabica, Marathi : Babhul.
Jangam.	A Lingyat beggar.
Jogati.	Untouchable prostitute.
Kaundi.	A sheet made by pieces of clothes stiched together.
Kalasha.	Holy water-jug used in religious ceremonies. It has a narrow mouth and dome shaped bottom.
Khan.	Bodice cloth.
Kadabu.	A kind of sweet dish prepared by boiling a mixture of copra pieces and sugar with covering of wheat paste ; dumpling.
Konchi-korvar	Name of a nomadic tribe.
Korvar of korva.	A caste of musicians.
Kulkarni.	Village accountant.
Kunkum.	Red powder used for marking the brow by ladies.
Kundarnad.	The name for the fertile tract in the forest region of Gokak Taluka.
Kuruba or kurubar.	A shepherd ; name for the caste of shepherds. Marathi-Dhangar.
Kusubi.	Safflower.
Math.	Lingayat monastery. Residence of Swami
Mangalsutra.	A cupshaped tiny ornament tied to women, at the time of marriage. Only non-widows are to wear it.
Navani.	Kind of corn. Marathi-Ral. Latin t Setari a Italica.
Mallige.	Jesmine flowers.
Nevedya.	Offering to God.
Nuchchu.	Millet pounded and boiled in whey.

Owner.	A cultivating owner.
Pancham sali.	A subcaste among Lingayats.
Patil.	Police official of the village.
Rumal.	A kerchief ; a turban.
Seer.	80/-tolas.
Shida.	Undressed food sufficient for a meal.
Shyavige payas.	Vermicilli-wheat paste drawn into threads, dried and boiled with sugar and milk (sometimes).
Shere.	A kind of intoxicant.
Tambittu.	Balls made of fried jowar powdered and end mixed with country-sugar.
Utsav	Festivity.
Vadapu	Bard.
Vaddar	Caste of stone cutters.
Vatandar	One who holds land from the Government as reward for past services.

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